

PREFACE.

These Lectures were delivered on 22nd, 23rd, 24th, 26th and 27th February, 1934.

They were meant to acquaint, those who were not in direct touch with the literature of one of the most important vernaculars of India, with its capacity for expansion and progress. •

Mr. A. Myers of the Editorial Department of the Times of India, Bombay, is greatly interested in literature. He has been good enough to offer certain suggestions which I have adopted and for which I thank him.

BOMBAY,
25th November, 1934. } KRISHNALAL M. JHAVERI.

CONTENTS.

LECTURE I (A) pp. 1 to 33.

(The numbers refer to pages)

1. Why in English. Non-technical Treatment.
2. Scope of Subject. 3. General Survey. Geographical Influences. 5. Jain contributions. 6. Poetry Predominant. 7. Steady change in the Language. 8. Prose Neglected. Beginnings of Prose. 9. 100 years ago. The Pioneers—and After. Narmadashankar. 10. Dalpatram. 12. Early Simplicity. Resort to Sanskrit. 14. The Result. Hybrid Expressions. 15. Evils of Imitation. 16. Muslim Efforts. 17. Abortive Attempt. Mahatma Gandhi's Style. 18. Hold of Religion. 19. Romantic Revolt. 21. Cleavage. 22. Song-writers. 23. Free Verse. 25. Popular Farces. 26. Religious Monologues. 27. Drama. 29. Narālal Kavi. Kanaiyalal Munshi. 30. Foreign Technique. 31. Comedy. 32. Author-Producers. 33. Uncertain Future.

LECTURE I (B) pp. 34 to 47.

34. Fiction. 35. Translations. 36. Changing Fashions. 37. Problem Stories. Self-reliance. 38. History and Biography. 39. Travel. 40. Philosophy. 41. Sufism. Theology. 42. Essayists. 43. Popular Journalism. 44. Scientific Works. Art Criticism. 45. Juvenile Literature. Losses and Gains. 46. Conclusion—Propaganda Writings.

(b)

LECTURE II pp. 48 to 64.

48. Literature of Criticism and Review.
49. Functions of the Critic, 50. Methods of Review.
51. Narmadashankar. 52. Navalram. 53. Steady Improvement. 55. Modern Reviewers. 57. New and Old. 60. Lesser Critics. The Modern Review.
61. Other Magazines. 62. Dailies and Weeklies. Dearth of Talent. 63. Heavy Responsibility.

LECTURE III pp. 65 to 81.

65. Scholarship and Research. 66. Efforts for Preservation. 68. Prachin Kavya Mala. 69. Sahitya. 70. Jain Temple Libraries. 72. Research To-day. 73. Earliest Writings. 75. Medieval Copyists. Queer Finds. 76. Rajkot Exhibition. Jealous Guardians. 77. Parsi Scholars. 78. Zarthosht Nameh. 80. Prose Work. 81. Results of Experience.

LECTURE IV pp. 82 to 99.

82. Historical Research. Making of Ras Mala. 84. Recent Publications. 85. Ratnamal. Local Museums. 86. Exploration Tours. 87. Kathiawad collection. 88. Stories in Stone. 89. Parsi "Death Registers." 91. Battle of Variav. 92. Rustom Manock. "Studies in Parsi History." 94. Copper-plate History. 95. Sheth Purushottam Vishram Mavji. 96. Local Histories. 97. Spirit of Research. Numismatics. 98. Gazetteers. 99. Future of Research.

(c)

LECTURE V pp. 100 to 114.

**100. Miscellaneous. Humour. 101. The
"Hindi Punch." 102. Persian Elements.
103. Loan Words. 105. Court Language. 108. The
Gazals. 110. Kathiawad. 111. Cambay-Bohras
and Parsis. 114. Ahmedabad and Surat.**

The Present State of Gujarati Literature.

LECTURE I (A).

GENERAL SURVEY I.

Why in English ?

The regulations governing the delivery of these lectures give the lecturer the choice of delivering them either, in English or in Gujarati. I have elected to lecture in English to make them accessible to those who, though not acquainted with Gujarati, may yet find the subject of interest. I believe I am justified in assuming that all those likely to attend these lectures understand English, and will therefore have no difficulty in following them. This is my reason for preferring English to Gujarati.

Non-Technical Treatment.

2. Of those lecturers who have preceded me, two have delivered their lectures in English and two in Gujarati. The subjects have been equally divided ; two have spoken on Gujarati literature and two on the history of Gujarat. Three went to some trouble to illustrate the subject-matter of their lectures by the aid of ancient documents, and on one occasion at least the subject was treated in a manner so technical that it was difficult for a layman to follow. It is my object, however, to talk about Gujarati literature in such a way as to attract to it as large a

number of people equipped with ordinary culture as possible, and thus to make it popular and widely known.

Scope of Subject.

With that object in view, I have 'divided the matter into five parts :—

1. General Survey of Modern Gujarati Literature.
2. The Literature of Criticism and Review.
3. Research in Old Literature.
4. Research in History of Gujarat.
5. Miscellaneous (in Gujarati called પાંચ ધાન્યની સીચીડી).
 - (a) Humour and Satire.
 - (b) Influence of Persian on Gujarati Literature.
 - (c) Influence of Urdu on Gujarati Literature.
 - (d) Account of Kathiawad as found in Persian Histories : specially તારીખે સોરઠ.
 - (e) Accounts of Cambay, Surat, Ahmedabad etc., found in Histories, Persian and Non-Persian.

General Survey.

3. In order to judge our present position, it will be necessary to note very briefly the different stages through which Gujarati literature has passed.

The Beginnings.

4. As far as can be traced, modern Gujarati, that is, the language which we now speak and write, is about two hundred years old. Before that, a form of language was used which, though allied to that of to-day, was so full of archaic words, sentence constructions, grammatical formations and other characteristics current at the time, that a Gujarati with a modern education would be unable to understand it, unless he went out of his way to make a special study of the language of that period. The "Kahānad de Prabandh," for example, which was written in Samvat year 1512 (A. D. 1453) would not be understood by the ordinary reader unless he made a special study of the vocabulary and the syntax. The beginning is generally placed about the 10th Century A. D.; the language used at that time was called Apabramsha (corrupted Sanskrit) and was a mixture of words of common speech (लोकभाषा) with those of Marwadi, Vraj, etc.

Geographical Influences.

4 (a). The geographical position of the province has, at least in the past, greatly affected the spoken and to a lesser extent the written word. To the north the province marches with Marwad. Palanpur

LECTURE I (A).

and Deesa, being like frontier posts, attracted the full force of the impact, and the language there, both written and spoken, is a mixture of Marwadi and Gujarati. As an example, note the language of a State document of recent date, Samvat year 1857 (A. D. 1801), executed by the Thakors of Kotharna, and addressed to the Nawab Saheb of Palanpur. It runs as follows :

(a) મોજે કૌઠારણા મધ્યે દરબારની ફોજ ઉતરે અને બીજે ઘોડા ફરે તૌ. બાળ લાવે તૌ. મારગ પાડે એટલો સરવે માલ શ્રી સમશેર ખાનજીનો છે, તે મધ્યે ઠાકરઢાને જ. ૧ લેવા દેવા નથી.

બીજે ઘોડા ફરે is a peculiar term, meaning, "when they invade other villages." બાળ લાવે means capture "Bāṅs" i. e., "inhabitants of the villages invaded." મારગ પાડે is the equivalent of the Gujarati વાટ પાડે which in its turn is derived from Persian رازدان (Rah zadan).

(b). A document of Samvat year 1896 reads : તે લખત પ્રમાણે કુલ પેદાશ પડાપોન સંગીતરા સુધાં ભાગ ૧ સરકારને. Note the words પડાપોન "fallen leaves," સંગીતરા "including."

(c) A document of Samvat year 1900 says : સુયાર, લુવાર, વસવાઈઆં પાસે કામ કરાવીએ તેની મજુરી આપીને કરાવીસાં પળ વેઠથી કરાવીસાં નહીં. Here note the word કરાવીસાં.

To the south, beyond the Damangangā River, where Gujarat ends lies a region where Marathi is spoken, and the Gujarati-speaking population there

leans more towards Marathi than Gujarati. Kathiawad to the west is now taken as a part of Gujarat. It has its own peculiar Gujarati, almost a dialect of its own. The Rajput, the Kāthi and the original inhabitants of the peninsula have all contributed to it, and though poets like Narasinh Mehta rose above their environment, the written language retained its own peculiarities.* Kathiawad, being so near Cutch, could not escape its influence, and Cutch, though it possesses no written script, has its own dialect, which betrays traces of proximity to Sind. To the east, Malwa was almost continuously in political contact with old Gujarat, and naturally left its mark.

Jain Contributions.

Sanskrit and Prakrit were learnt by the higher classes such as the Brahmins and the Jain Sadhus. It may be said in passing that in dealing with the earlier phases of the language and literature of Gujarat, one should never make the mistake, which was commonly made until some years ago, of ignoring the very large part played by the Jain Sadhus or ascetics in the formation and development of both. The towering personality of Grammarian Āchārya Hemchandra (Samvat year 1168, A. D. 1112) not only dominated our literature during his own times but will dominate it for all time. The services rendered by his “देशीनाम माळ” are unique. They have preserved for us and for generations to come the state of the language and literature as they

* See “गुजराती,” dated 12th March 1933, p. 300.

were in his own time, and it is the opinion of some scholars that his book represents the state of the language as it existed even before his time. Successive Jain authors, down to the dawn of the modern period, continued to contribute to the literature of the province, and their works can be counted by thousands. A few have been published, but the rest are lying hidden away in the obscurity of the Bhandārs, the temples and private collections. In this connection may be specially mentioned the two volumes of Jain poetry and the History of Jain Literature written by Mohanlal D. Desai.

Poetry Predominant.

5. Uptil the time that Gujarat won for itself independent sovereign rights, say from the beginning of the reign of the Chāvḍā dynasty, political upheavals left little time for literature. Nevertheless, religion and religious subjects did not lose their hold on the minds of the people; people turned to them for solace in the midst of the quarrelling and fighting, and, the need being felt, those who had the necessary learning and leisure naturally wrote on such subjects. Moreover they could not but follow the path trod by the masters, the Sanskrit authors, whom they had studied intensively, and thus it was that they wrote much verse, but very little prose. Religion in its various forms, paeans to the glory of Mahādev, Mātā and Mahāvīr, or excursions into mythology and Puranic subjects: these gave them sufficient matter to handle.

It is a characteristic of this early period, as well as of the period which follows, that very little prose—at least very little cultured prose—was written. Poetry monopolised their pens. In writing about the affairs of everyday life, of course, the use of prose was inevitable. Sale deeds or documents of mortgage or gift (*Dānapatras*), records of business transactions and medical prescriptions could hardly be written in anything but prose, but wherever the higher faculties were brought into play poetry was the only medium.

Steady Change in the Language.

6. Though the literary trend remained very nearly the same after the fall of the Hindu Kings—the Chāvdās, the Solankis and the Vāghelās—the language underwent a change, imperceptible but sure and steady. That can be easily seen from a comparison of any work written in the 11th or 12th Century A. D. with one written in the 15th Century, or a little before the time of Narasinh Mehta, who is generally accepted as the outstanding figure of the medieval period (मध्यकालीन युग).

7. The form of the language upto the “*Kahānā de Prabandha*” remained archaic, though the subject matter of the poem marks a welcome and healthy change from the rut into which literature had settled down—the writing of religious poetry. On looking at the works which followed it, however, one marks that a change was rapidly coming over the language, and observes that it was assuming a form very similar to that which it has taken in modern times.

Prose Neglected.

7(a). Poetry^o held the field all along, and prose works, though they were being composed, were neglected both in quality and quantity. A story may have been written here and there, or a formula enunciated, but prose, as such, had no place in the literature. By upbringing and outlook, people knew but one thing, namely, that cultured thinkers could express themselves only in the language of poetry.

Beginnings of Prose.

8. Until Narmadāshankar (A. D. 1833-1886) boldly came forward and asserted the principle that prose was as valuable as poetry and of equal importance from a literary point of view, it was not rescued from the lowly position it had always occupied. Poets like Dayārām had written prose, but only as a commentary on poetry, and not as a distinct and valued form of literature. Attempts to develop that really began only with the publication of school books for the teaching of students when schools on modern lines were first established by the East India Company in A. D. 1826. But the prose was prose only in name. It was crude and necessarily very elementary. It was not meant to rise to any height, nor, in view of the purpose for which it was being utilized, could it rise to any height. It was meant to be used as a vehicle for the conveyance of matter -of-fact, practical information to children; it could not be high flown; it had to remain simple and easily understandable.

100 Years Ago.

9. This then was roughly the state of Gujarati literature at the dawn of the modern period, *i. e.*, when schools for the teaching of children on lines obtaining in England were established in A. D. 1826. Poetry, religious, mythological even romantic, was the vogue: prose was practically neglected.

10. A century has passed since then. What is the present state of our literature? Has it developed or declined? If we have made any progress, what has been the nature of that progress? Has it been solid or superficial?

The Pioneers—and After.

11. To furnish an answer to these queries we shall have to consider the numerous activities which have come into being since the pioneers—men like Ranchhoddas Girdharbhai (A. D. 1803–1873) and Durgārām Mehtāji (A. D. 1809–1878), the men who did the real spade work—passed away. Dalpatram (A. D. 1820–1898) and Narmadāshankar (A. D. 1833–1886), who came later, have as good a right to be honoured as pioneers; perhaps they are even more than pioneers—leaders, makers of their period (युगकर्त्ता), though in a way they took advantage of this spade work and were its products.

Narmadāshankar.

Narmadāshankar, more venturesome and courageous than Dalpatram, realized vividly what was

needed if our literature was to be lifted out of the groove into which it had fallen. He was a seer, and deliberately planned a departure from the old ways. He was in the habit of recording his thoughts and plans; and that record gives us an insight into his character. It was patent to him that our literature stood at the parting of ways and that, if it was to keep abreast of the times, it would have to be conducted into fresh channels. He therefore set about the task of utilizing the latent powers of the language for the creation of tolerably effective prose. The language had the requisite adaptability; it required only to be exploited. How well he exploited its inherent flexibility can be seen from his numerous prose writings. He wrote essays, he wrote history, both in outline and detailed, he prepared and delivered speeches and lectures on social and religious subjects, he wrote biographies; and in the composition of all these he used a vigorous and virile prose. He broke down the dykes which till then had confined the stream of the literature of Gujarat to the one channel of versification, and led it, by precept and example, into new and more fruitful paths, because no one will deny that prose can be more easily read and understood by ordinary people than poetry, and can thus exert a wider influence, and bring about better results.

Dalpatram.

Dalpatram too wrote prose, but he had a greater leaning towards poetry. Narmadāshankar,

though he preferred to be known as a Kavi (poet), rendered yeoman service to the creation and development of the modern prose literature of Gujarat. The source from which he derived his inspiration accounts for the difference in their points of view as to the usefulness of this branch of literature. Narmadāshankar had come under the influence of the new learning; he had studied English at one of the newly founded schools at Surat and at the Elphinstone College in Bombay; and he had imbibed the spirit both of that language and of its literature.

Dalpatram had studied in the old school and had not, therefore, come under the same spell. While consciously striving to follow the new ways, by instinct he adhered to the old and the orthodox. He had come into contact with liberally-educated and liberally-minded Englishmen, and from them he had learnt the lessons of social reform, for which he worked zealously; but, being conservative and orthodox by nature, he could not shake off old convictions and associations. It is thus Narmadāshankar, not Dalpatram, that is hailed as the father or creator of modern Gujarati prose.

12. Since then there has been no halt in its onward march. Narmadāshankar, as has already been observed, wrote much in prose on widely different subjects. • He created his own style. Being the style of a pioneer it was naturally crude, rough, hardly cultured (शिष्ट or संस्कारी); but it was homely and simple, and capable of conveying all that he wanted

to convey to the reader or hearer. He was at times brutally frank in the expression of his sentiments; he did not beat about the bush or gloss over things, as witness his utterances or writings about the miseries of young widows or in describing his feelings towards his प्यारी (beloved). This directness he carried over into his style, so that those who read his works or heard him lecture had no difficulty in following his train of thought.

Early Simplicity.

Later prose writers cultivated a better style, as was inevitable with the opening up of new avenues of thought and new modes of expression consequent on the greater study of English language and literature and on the increase in the number of students. These students were nurtured on lessons based on the Hope Reading Series, which were deliberately couched in very simple language, and which were consequently very easy to understand. Those who studied the reading books in that series, Hindus, Musalmans, and especially Parsis, still speak of its language in appreciative terms, and deplore its disappearance and substitution by the new Series which, they say, is so composed that even grown-ups find it difficult to follow, let alone the children.

Resort to Sanskrit.

13. The language of the Hope Reading Series preserved its simplicity, however, for a fairly long period. Narmadāshankar, Mahipatram, Durgārām Mehtāji and even Navalram wrote

prose which was easily comprehensible to the common people; but the inevitable was coming and it did not take long to come. Gujaratis had taken to higher education and were steadily graduating. They had to study Sanskrit as their second language, in addition to English, and many of them took to Sanskrit as a fish takes to water. Having been brought up on English literature, and finding their own vernacular literature poor—extremely poor—compared with the one they were studying, they were naturally fired with the ambition to enrich their own. For they were faced with a difficulty: they found that the Gujarati that they had studied was deficient in vocabulary; they had not sufficient words to express the ideas they had learnt from their study of the other language. They therefore, and quite naturally, turned to the extensively cultivated parent language, which could furnish them with words conveying not only the meaning but even the shades of meanings they wanted to convey, in expressing the ideas and sentiments that were stirring them. It was thus that writers like Govardhanram Tripathi and Manilal Dwivedi came to write language entirely Sanskritized, that is, loaded with Sanskrit words and phrases, and the style has caught on. Among the first University graduates there were some, like Girdharlal Dayāldas Kothāri, or Nāgindas Tulsīdas Mārfatia, who still wrote prose in simple language. But the new fashion of using as many Sanskrit words as possible is still in vogue, and is likely to remain so.

The Result.

Every day and every new graduate adds to the number of such writers. In fact, the utter despair of those who are unacquainted with Sanskrit, such as the Parsis and the Muslims, has driven them to the other extreme. The parents of these communities have been putting a stop—to a very great extent in Bombay—to the study of Gujarati for their children, and are resorting to English instead, while their authors, with very few exceptions, have taken to writing a language which reads like a dialect of Gujarati—and an inferior dialect at that. It would be news to many that the old generations of Parsis, men like Dadabhai Naoroji, A. F. Moos and even Sir Pherozshah Mehta and Sir Dinsha Wacha, were nurtured in a different atmosphere altogether in their college days. They were obliged to study the vernaculars, and they understood and wrote Gujarati remarkably well, as did also Malabari, Patañji Barjorji, Birbal, S. M. Desai and others.

Hybrid Expressions.

14. Another evil that has crept in, perhaps in common with other modern vernaculars in India, is the imitation of English phrases and idioms, to the detriment of the indigenous mode of expression. Even cultured Hindu writers do it, but the Parsis are the greatest offenders. In Gujarati we say sitting *on* a chair, *खुरसी पर बैसवું*, and not sitting *in* a chair, as in English; yet one finds *खुरसीमां बैसवું* used often

enough. We say in Gujarati : "I have no confidence *on* so and so" : फलणा पर विश्वास नहीं, and not : I have no confidence *in* so and so," but of late one finds that the use of मने फलणामां विश्वास नहीं has become painfully common. Literal translation of English phrases, such as "I claim to be a seeker of truth," हुं सत्यशोधक होवानो दावो करूं छूं, which have no meaning in Gujarati for one who does not know the English language, stud our modern writings. This is the result of intensive English education, under the influence of which we think in English and then translate the thought into Gujarati, changing the language, but keeping the word and turn of thought as in the original. Protests against this hybrid mode of expression have become feebler and feebler, and one is afraid that it will become a permanent feature of the language, especially as cultured writers see nothing incongruous or wrong in it. They think that the language is being enriched by this process ; actually it is merely being corrupted.

Evils of Imitation.

15. Parsi writers have always taken to this downward path of imitation very easily. Their earlier prose, when they were still under the influence of Persian literature, partook of all the characteristics of Persian prose. The rhyming periods, the exaggerations, the repetition of ideas, the loading of the style with metaphors, all these were carried into Gujarati from Persian. Then came a change: they began to study English. They studied sedulously, with remarkable single-mindedness, and the result was

that, with an exception here and there, their Gujarati not only reads like English but at times even sounds like it, so overburdened is it with English words. In consequence, there is a sharp cleavage between works written by Hindus and those written by Parsis. Parsi writers patronise only the writers of their own community and look askance at Hindu writers, while the latter ignore the work of their Parsi brethren; and despite all the efforts of well-meaning persons of both communities to bridge the gulf, one fears that it will go on widening.

Muslim Efforts.

16. It must be said in fairness to the very few Muslim writers who have written Gujarati prose that they have come under the influence neither of Persian nor of English literature. They have continued to write in a simple indigenous style like that of Nānjiāni. They do not as a rule know Sanskrit, and hence are not likely to use Sanskrit words. They are yet backward in education, and have not, therefore, taken to copying English modes of expression as their sister communities have done. The Muslim Sāhitya Mandal has only lately been founded, at Rānder, near Surat, for the serious study of Gujarati language and literature; though it does not ignore prose, it is taken up more with poetical efforts in the direction of Gazal (lyrical) compositions. Still the little prose its members do write is very good prose, at least as good prose as that written by their Hindu confreres.

Abortive Attempt.

17. A deliberate attempt was made by a genuine admirer of Sanskrit literature, the late Mr. Manasukhram S. Tripathi, to Sanskriticise Gujarati entirely by weeding out all non-Sanskrit words and even tacking on Sanskrit suffixes to words which, though derived from Sanskrit, have for all practical purposes settled down as Gujarati words. This attempt was based on the view that the daughter-language (Gujarati) should model itself on the parent-language (Sanskrit) and not strike out on its own. Mr. Tripathi himself wrote prose which read like Sanskrit. The experiment was not countenanced, and was short lived.

Mahātma Gandhi's Style.

17 (a). The eminent part played by Mahātma Gandhi in moulding the prose of the later writers of the present generation cannot be ignored. He has evolved a style so chaste and simple as even to impress the illiterate cultivator. This chastity and simplicity it must be said to his great credit, does not constitute a handicap to the expression of the most complex and intricate ideas in philosophy, politics, religion, and allied abstruse subjects. His writings are unfailingly pregnant with meaning and significance. It is no wonder that he is able to count the readers of his newspaper articles and books in tens of thousands. This characteristic of simplicity is also found in his English, which he writes with Anglo-Saxon directness.

Hold of Religion.

18. "Poetry is the essence of literature." Literature is described as "a species of expression." "The art of literature is the art of using a medium (language) as the symbol of unlimited possibilities (*i. e.*, of imaginative experience). In poetry the whole literature, the communication of pure experience in language, is concentrated to its utmost intensity."* Perhaps because of this fact—that poetry is the essence of literature, that in poetry is concentrated to its utmost intensity the communication of pure experience in language, as analysed by Western writers, or perhaps because of the example set by the Sanskrit masters whom the earlier writers followed—poetry was for long regarded as the only form of literature worthy of notice. The galaxy of old Gujarati writers beginning with those who preceded Narasinh Mehta, including Sāmal and Premānand, and ending with Dayāram, were all worshippers at the altar of the muse of poetry. They were all cultured men and scholars, according to the standards of education obtaining in their time; yet their horizon was sadly limited. They could not see beyond Gujarat; or at most Bharatkhand. All over the country at that time, east, west, north and south, verse was the medium of instruction and of popular entertainment, though the masses were almost entirely illiterate. There was

* Principles of Literary Criticism, by Prof. L. Abercrombie M. A., Professor of English Literature, in the University of London.

yet a further limitation. The only subject which could interest or entertain the masses was Dharma (religion) or Bhakti (devotion). Whether the theme sung was taken from mythology (the Purāṇas), the Bhāgavata, or epics like the Mahābhārat and the Rāmāyaṇa, the object was one and the same, namely, to show the reader how the heroes and heroines of old had acquitted themselves in the life of the spirit, and to advise him and guide him in that life. It may, however, be noted that Sāmal, to a certain extent, made a departure and began to write stories. Although the earlier Parsi poets, who took a leaf out of the book of their contemporaries, imitated the Nāmehs (chronicles) written in Persian by poets like Firdausi and Nizami, they could not escape this religious colouring, and the "Virāf Nāmeḥ" and the "Zarthoshta Nāmeḥ" followed much the same lines as those of the Ākhyānās written by Hindu poets.

Romantic Revolt.

19. Dayāram was the last prominent representative of the old school. Then there came about a change, resulting from new methods of teaching and learning. The change did not, of course, come about suddenly. Neither Dalpatram nor even Narmadāshankar, who heralded the dawn of the new era, left the old track abruptly. Dalpatram particularly, working, as he did, under the influence of Vraj and Hīndi, clung to it for a long time, though, instead of preaching Bhakti or Dharma in the old-fashioned way, he set his muse to sing of social and domestic

reform. In Narmadāshankar we find faint glimmerings of the stir that was being made in the minds of those who had been seriously studying the poetry of the romantic period of English literature. Wordsworth, Tennyson, Shelley, Keats; these gave the young *alumni* of the University food for thought and contemplation. They were eager to find out why their own literature lacked the element that they found in the works of the masters of English verse, and whether Gujarati had such potentialities as to make it possible to produce work on the same lines. They found that it had indeed all they desired, and they demonstrated in their compositions that it was possible to introduce all the grace and the charm, the music and the pathos, that were to be found in the poetry of the other language. These characteristics were brought out in their poetry in describing the scenes of nature and their communion with her, in conveying the lessons they thought nature taught them, in delineating emotions and sentiments. This attitude towards poetry, this element of subjectivity instead of objectivity, has now become part and parcel of the literary output of the province, and it must give no small satisfaction to the distinguished poet, Mr. Narasinhrao B. Divatia, to see during his own life-time this gratifying result of his endeavours. Poems showing that their writers delight in the close observation of nature, and that they have studied closely the softer emotions of the human heart, such as the love of parent for child and of man for woman, grief and sorrow, have taken the place of the Bhakti

poems, the Ākhyānas and the stories (कालिओ) of the older days. These are still studied, no doubt; they form part of the University curriculum, as every college student knows; they are admired and esteemed, but only as relics of an age that has gone. They do not find any imitators; they have ceased to inspire.

19(a). Between the old school and the new, came poets like Kānt and Botādkar in whom one finds traces equally of Sanskrit and English poetry.

Cleavage.

20. One drawback of this new phase in the writing of poetry was that those who were not familiar with the ideas and the trend of the work of the English poets were unable to appreciate fully, or even partially, the beauty of the sentiments expressed by them. Others who, though they had come under the influence of education on Western lines, still preferred through instinct or for some other reason to hold on to the old and orthodox ways, saw nothing to admire in what they considered to be an exotic plant being reared in uncongenial soil. This prejudice against an alien literature did not last long; and, as I have pointed out, the alien has now become naturalised. This phase is not the only one worth noting in the present state of our literature. There are others also, but of a subsidiary character. We have dwelt on this one in particular because it brings us into line with the literatures of advanced and cultured countries.

Song-Writers.

21. One peculiar branch of verse writing, which is not to be found in the vernaculars of the other provinces, is the गरबी, गरबा and रास form of poetry. Primarily meant to be sung by women offering prayers or celebrating some glad event, oftener than not to the accompaniment of that rhythmic clapping of the hands and those circular movements with which every native of Gujarat is familiar, the language used was such as could be understood and followed by the women. Gujarati women were not noted for their literacy; nevertheless, literate or otherwise, women chanted these. They were, therefore, simple; smoothness of language and the softness of a woman's voice were their chief characteristics. Dayāram was one of the best गरबी writers, and his Garbis are still the stock-in-trade of गरबी singers. He shares his popularity with Mirānbai, who, with her woman's touch and her earnest devotion and love for her Lord and Master, has etherialised गरबी. गरबी writing, however, did not stop with the old writers. Their successors have continued to tread the same path, and those written in modern times, both by men and women, whether called गरबी, गरबा, or रास, mark a great advance on the old work, in the variety of subject matter, in the expression of sentiment, in appropriateness of language, in the music of numbers and in beauty of presentation, when sung as described above by little girls and young women. Rās रास poems written by Nānālāl Kavi hold the field. There are several other

writers who have done commendable work, which gives much delight both to singers and to hearers, but the peculiar knack possessed by Nānālal, when he relaxes sufficiently to indulge in this kind of writing, has never really been equalled.

Free Verse.

2. Midway between the prose and poetical literatures of modern Gujarat lies the prose-poetry or the poetical-prose of Nānālal. I refer to his poetry, which on all intents and purposes looks like and reads like prose, while yet fulfilling all the functions of poetry. It is unconventional poetry; it is metreless verse; if it were blank verse, then, even though the characteristic of old Gujarati and the bulk of new Gujarati poetry is rhyming verse, no protest would be raised against its being called verse or poetry (काव्य : कविता) by its author. "The very essence or soul of poetry is रस, sentiment or emotion." "Emotions (engendered in) the heart are, not such as could be sung, nor are they controlled by metre." It is true that the flow of these emotions swings to and fro, has a lilt which has to be expressed in language, and that therefore rhythm (वाणीतुं डोलन) is a necessary factor in poetry. But this rhythm again need have no symmetry, just as in nature you find flowers whose petals are not symmetrical. Arguing in this fashion he comes to the conclusion that the essential factor of a poem is simply, solely

*अन्तरवासी रसनां संचलकई गेय के छन्दोबद्ध नहीं, etc., Indukumār—
Part I. Preface : छन्दोबद्ध कविता.

the possibility of setting it to music, that the language in which it is clothed should possess rhythm, which need not, however, be symmetrical. In this belief he has written poetry which is controlled neither by metre nor by any other law, such as that the lines should possess the same number of syllables. Provided that the language is adequately rhythmical, that is, has डोलन in it, nothing else is required. Although this rebellion against law and order established from time immemorial has met with the strongest of protests and found few followers, it must be said that the sentiments expressed and the language employed to express them call for the highest praise. As printed, his verses, consisting of uneven lines, have nothing to distinguish them from prose, except that they do not run over the whole width of the page like ordinary prose, but only over part of it: there are just short lines and long lines. Critics have gone so far as to say that he writes merely prose—impassioned prose—and deludes himself into thinking that he is writing poetry. In spite of adverse criticisms he has stuck to his theory, and has continued to produce work which in spite of this obvious drawback, compels admission for the independence and elegance with which he gives vent to his ideas and innovations. Nānālāl writes genuine prose also. His speeches, which are written out before he delivers them, are made up of terse, crisp sentences and small vigorous paragraphs. Sometimes one sentence only constitutes the paragraph. His prose work is full of information, and reveals a close

study of history, of Gujarati classics and of our religious literature. His individuality and originality are seen in every line, and altogether they furnish a landmark in the history of Gujarati prose literature.

Popular Farces.

• 23. Allied to the subject of poetry is that of drama. Old Gujarati possessed hardly any drama. There was a great deal of it in Sanskrit and Prakrit ; and one would have thought that the old Gujarati authors would be quick to copy, but the fact is that in this respect they did not do so. The entertainment of the masses during their leisure hours was furnished by crude shows, like those of Punch and Judy, except that real, live players, instead of puppets, acted their parts in ludicrous ways, ridiculing various customs and practices of the people and providing genuine amusement. The shows were made 'spicy' by humour and a kind of acting that was often "loud" and sometimes passed the bounds of decency. The chief merit of these shows, called 'Bhavāis,' was that the presentation was not above the intellectual level of the spectators, for the show was not intended for the entertainment of cultured people. It catered for the masses and was suited to their tastes and intelligence like scenes called *सीयां बीबी : तरकडीनो वेश*, etc. The players themselves belonged, as a rule, to the social strata of those for whose delight they played. The middle and higher classes attended another form of entertainment.

Religious Monologues.

This was the recitation, to the accompaniment of suitable music and gesture, of some episode in the Mahābhārat, Rāmāyāṇa or the mythological Purāṇas, by a Brahmin called Māṇbhat, an expert in composing impromptu verses. It was an open-air meeting, held at night, in an open space in a street, attended by men, women and children. The narration continued without interruption from night to night till the theme was finished. It was a most picturesque sight, and so keen was the interest of the audience that to have to miss even one night was very much taken to heart. The rising generation of Gujarat now seldom come across these shows: for lack of encouragement, partly the result of competition of the theatres and cinema houses which are now to be found in almost every town frequented by villagers, they have receded into the background, and the Bhavāi show and the Purāṇi's Kathā have almost disappeared. Perhaps on rare occasions one may come across them in some outlying place. The players of the Bhavāi have turned their hereditary talents to use in acting for the modern stage, and the Māṇbhat ekes out a most precarious existence. Where such was the state of things, one could hardly differentiate between classical and romantic drama.

Drama.

The drama as we now understand it is a recent innovation.* The evil of the social usages and practices current amongst people which were parodied by the Bhavāyās, however, furnished the pabulum on which the minds of the new writers of drama were nourished. They found it had unfailing attraction for the less educated people : the miseries of a couple ill-matched in age (कजोड़ु) or in habits and outlook on life (such* as an educated wife and an illiterate husband, or a husband addicted to drink and an adulterous life), were such as could be understood by all without an effort, and therefore men like Diwan Bahadur Ranchhodbhai, pioneers in this field, seized upon them as suitable subjects both for the reader who stayed at home (श्राव्य) and the stage, (दृश्य). He is said to have personally attended rehearsals to teach the players how to act.

English education led us to read Shakespeare and other dramatists of England, and the natural result was that soon translations from English began to be made in large numbers. There followed translations from Sanskrit of masterpieces, like "Shakuntala," "Vikramorvashi," "Uttar Ramcharitra," "Mālvikāgnimitra" and the plays of Bhavbhūti and Bhāsa. Indigenous plays

* As the authorship of the plays alleged to have been written by Premānand, a comparatively recent writer, is the subject of controversy, they have not been referred to here. Otherwise they would claim attention.

began to be written exclusively for the stage also. The stage as we now understand it came to Gujarat first through the Daksharī Nāṭak Mandlī, who used to tour the province playing Marathi plays rendered into Gujarati, though the translations were as uncouth as the rendering of Marathi texts on grammar and other subjects into Gujarati in the early 'forties and 'fifties, when text books were prepared for the Department of Public Instruction by men from the Deccan who claimed to know Gujarati as well as Marathi, but who in reality knew very little. Since then, however, there has been no end to the writing of dramas and plays. Parsis can claim a very large share in contributing to this branch of literature. They found in the chronicles of old Iran plenty of material to dramatise. Their historical plays served also to keep alive in them the feeling of love for old Iran, the motherland of their ancestors—ancestors on whom they could look back with pride. They also dealt with social subjects with the object of raising the moral tone of their community. Skits, farces and all manner of humour were constantly employed to drive their lesson home; so far as their own community is concerned, it must be said that they have enjoyed the exhibitions to the full but have profited only partly. The history of the stage in Gujarat, its rise, development and present state, is a true index to the development of and to changes in the taste of the Gujarat audience. The question whether it has become exalted or depraved with

the passage of time does not, however, fall within the strict limits of literature, and hence need not be reviewed.

24. Bengali and Marāthi—the latter to a very small extent only—also played some part in giving form and shape to early Gujarati dramatic literature. Translations from them have been well received, and even now some of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's best plays are finding a permanent place in Gujarati literature.

Nānālal Kavi.

25. Nānālal Kavi has, however, struck out a path for himself. Whether to call works like his "Indukumār" and "Jayā" and "Jayant" plays or poems or repertories of his views on Hindu society—as it is and as it should be—expressed in the style of the lyrist, is a problem. His deep study of the Moghal period of India's history has resulted in some admirable plays, concerned with Babar, Akbar and Jehangir. His treatment of this subject is so original that while one might admire his work, one could never draw inspiration from it or use it as a model.

Kanaiyalal Munshi.

26. Purāṇic and Vedic subjects have tempted many writers. They have tried to elaborate and develop them. Kanaiyalal Munshi's latest efforts are in that direction, but it has yet to be seen whether this phase is merely temporary—one of the many experiments he has made during his enforced leisure in

prison—or otherwise. He persists in pursuing the path of the iconoclast, however, in tearing aside the veil in which religious idolatry has hitherto wrapped the heroic figures—particularly the women—of the sacred writings. Even those hitherto regarded as the saintliest of characters, the chastest in sentiment, the purest in action, and the most irreproachable in speech, have not escaped the lash of his pen. This iconoclasm seems to be general at the moment. Yashwant S. Pandya, too, takes some of the most cherished characters of Hindu mythology and seeks to expose them by means of an unrelenting analysis of their words and deeds. It is all one with the spirit of the times, which is one of revolt against old ideas and beliefs, political and moral, social and economic.

Foreign Technique.

27. Even then, we have not escaped the spell cast by the English drama. The present tendency of the English drama is to limit the play to three acts or even to one. The stage directions for each scene are no longer left to the theatre or stage-manager; the author himself gives elaborate instructions, setting out in detail the arrangement he wants each time the curtain goes up, even down to the exact position of a table, a chair or a sofa. This development in English stage technique is now being copied here. Most of the plays and dramas produced during the last decade, particularly by those who are close students of the English stage, have been written in this way, whether the scene is laid in the primitive

Indian forest, or in an up-to-date furnished drawing room in Bombay.

28. English drama, and European too, owe their richness and variety both to indigenous productions and to translations. Ibsen, for instance, has met with a very good reception all over Europe at the hands both of the reader and of the theatre-goer. Nor has Gujarati literature been behind the times; for not only have Ibsen's plays been translated, but the ideas underlying them have been noted and freely criticised. French plays have been similarly handled, but the translations, from whatever language, have been made from the English version and not from the original.

Comedy.

29. Humorous plays, apart from the short comedy called the farce, which is based on the exaggeration of qualities and actions, have not been neglected; both Dalpatram and Navalram made, in the 'sixties and 'seventies commendable attempts to open up this means of public amusement and instruction. The production of the former was indigenous, and rather coarse: that of the latter, though based on Fielding's translation of Moliere's French play, "the Mock Doctor," was so well adapted to the mode of living in Gujarat that it displayed all the sterling merit of an indigenous product. The genuine humour that peeps out from every line of it has not yet been surpassed by any other writer, and although it is now nearly sixty-seven years since it first saw the light of

day, its popularity is still unimpaired. Parsis are by nature jolly and hilarious and consequently fond of fun, and they also have written many such plays and skits. Parsi humour is an asset to Gujarati literature. The present tendency, however, is more towards sobriety and satire, and less towards sheer fun. All that can be said, therefore, is that this branch of literature, though not very advanced or varied, is nevertheless not neglected.

Author—Producers.

30. The stage or theatre in Gujarat was owned in the beginning by persons who were not playwrights; they were different people altogether. The author, therefore, was dependent for the success of his play on the understanding and skill of the producer, as well as on the provision of what are called theatrical properties. This divorce between the author and the producer, and the consequent dissatisfaction of both of them, induced certain persons to play both roles, and accordingly we find men like the late Wāghjī Āshāram and Dahyābhai Dholshāj giving up their regular pursuits in life, and diverting themselves both to the writing and to the production of plays. They had this advantage: as proprietors and managers of the Nātak Mandalis they knew at first hand what their audience liked and wanted. They therefore moulded their work on the ideas they picked up as proprietors, that is, the ideas that were likely to prove most profitable. It must be said to their credit however, that in spite of the fact that maintaining

high level of moral instruction could ill accord with the finding out of the best means of making money—and making money had to be the ruling passion of a proprietor—they were able as authors to put plays before the public which presented a standard of morality and ethics to which no exception could be taken.

Uncertain Future.

31. The cinema, however, made great inroads on the popularity of the theatre, and the 'talkies' have made still further inroads, furnishing as they do all the features and amusement that a theatre can. It is, therefore, not quite clear what future awaits the theatre in Gujarat.

LECTURE I (B): GENERAL SURVEY II.

Fiction.

32. Fiction and story are very old features of our literature. They are found from the earliest times, through the middle period of Gujarati literature, (मध्यकालीन) and upto to-day, in all the variety befitting the subject. One sees progress all along the line, and would be justified in taking an optimistic view of the future from what has happened in the past. Story-telling was once a very simple affair and continued to be so upto the transition period, (मध्यकालीन युग) It was chiefly intended for the uneducated and illiterate classes, and that intention could be successfully carried out only if the narrative consisted of a simple plot simply told. Hitopdesha, Panchatantra and Kathā Sarit Sāgar were the models followed, and though the vehicle mostly selected was verse, writers were not averse to resorting to prose.* Stories founded on Purāṇic lore could not avoid the use of the supernatural element; this element, besides being opposed to ordinary natural phenomena, involved the description of ludicrous situations. It was at this stage that the English-educated students stepped in. The reading of novels by Sir Walter Scott and other English

*Stories recited by Bhāts and Ohārāns, i. e., royal bards and also like those published in books like गुजरात ने काठीयावाह देशनी वात्ताओ were popular.

fiction writers prompted men like Girdharlal Dayādas Kothari and Rao Bahadur Nandshankar Tuljashankar to make their community acquainted with the style in which stories were told in English, which was something quite different from that on which they had upto then been nurtured. The vogue begun then nearly sixty-five years ago, is still current, in substance, though the style, the mode of narration, the simplicity of language, the directness of telling the story and several other features found in that pioneer period have undergone considerable change. But they have all contributed to the improvement of the art; looking back one sees nothing but progress, real, steady and continued.

Translations.

33. The few years that followed the publication of Nandshankar's "Karan Ghelo" saw the rise of the translated novel; the interval between the two stages was filled by indigenous stories, historical and social; but they were feeble attempts, excluding Govardhanram's "सरस्वतीचंद्र" which at one time was so popular as to attract an army of imitators. Parsis and Hindus, with a Muslim here and there, tapped mainly the novel literature of England. Bengali, being ahead of Gujarati in this respect, also attracted a good number, and translations of almost all the novels of Bankim Chandra Chattopādhyāya were easily available. Novels of authors like Mrs. Henry Wood, Miss Marie Corelli and even Reynolds, and stories written by Tolstoy were trans-

lated in large numbers, but the Parsi writers took care to adapt the incidents to Parsi life, and their translations thus became very popular in their own community.

Changing Fashions.

34. But the closer acquaintance derived from the growing study of the subject could not be satisfied with mere translation, and had to result sooner or later in efforts to produce indigenous work. Accordingly a number of novels began to be published, mostly on historical subjects, such as those written for the "Gujarati," and the "Prajā Bandhu;" but there were some dealing with social usages and customs too. Ideas and technique, however, still followed the trend of the English novel. When Mrs. Henry Wood or Miss Marie Corelli went out of fashion in England, the type of novel they specialised in lost favour here; when the detective stories of Sherlock Holmes and Le Gabariou came into vogue the exploits of their heroes again found an echo here. While it is not quite correct to say that the Gujarati novel is the counterpart of the English novel so far as the vogue of fiction writing is concerned, there is no doubt that the one follows the other. Whatever is the fashion there becomes the fashion here. It is true that the very long novel, running to five or six hundred pages—which one very often comes across in English, either indigenous or translated from Russian or German—has found very little following in Gujarati; but the short story, the magazine short

story and the literary short story, which at present hold the field both in England and in America, are just as popular in Gujarat. The magazines are bursting with them, and they are also being published independently in fairly large numbers.

35. Their characteristics are very simple—the description of the home life of educated and uneducated couples, or the loves of boy and girl college-students, or the miseries suffered by a child of orthodox parents with a leaning towards social progress. The last especially has become a stock theme.

Problem Stories.

36. The present political situation has also imparted its colour to the novels being turned out of late, which are naturally very much appreciated, as the readers being eye-witnesses of the events narrated find in them satisfaction for their *amour propre*. Owing to this nationalistic tendency in literature, other aspects of fiction-writing were for a long time ignored. Recently, however, there has been a change and the ponderous and voluminous “Saraswatichandra,” a socio-political novel relating to the politics of the Indian States and to the slowly changing life of the orthodox Hindu, and even such popular and pleasing novels as *ગુજરાતનો નાય* or *પાટણની પ્રમુતા* are already receding into the background.

Self-Reliance.

37. To sum up, novel and story-writing was the result of contact with English literature. Indi-

genous writing, rather thin in body compared to translations from other languages, could not at first make much headway, because the work of translation was easier and less taxing, and did not require the exercise of imagination and ability or capacity to portray character and incident. It has continued to follow the fashion set by foreign literature, but of late it has been trying to shake off those fetters and to follow its own lines, such as might be expected to enhance the self-respect and self-esteem of the nation and the province. This is a most welcome sign and a desirable departure.

History and Biography.

38. As to history and biography, the output is not large. Ever since the day when, in the early 'forties and 'fifties, a beginning was made with textbooks, translations of the histories of ancient nations, such as the Assyrians, the Babylonians, the Medes and the Persians, have been made. Histories of the Marāthās and of England were also put into the hands of students; but the history of Gujarat, or what was known of it, though forthcoming, was a departmental production. It has recently dawned on Gujaratis that a history of Gujarat, old and new, systematically written up from original sources and after much research of the material to be found in books, manuscripts, coins, old documents and inscriptions in Sanskrit, Persian, old Gujarati and Marāthi, is very much to be desired, and that serious efforts should be made in that direction. Biographical works

are many. From the simple narrative of the "Life of Columbus," written by Prānāl Mathurādas in the period between A. D. 1820-57, and the Lives of Durgāram Mehtāji and Karsandas Mulji—the great social reformers—by Mahipatram Rupram in A. D. 1877, to the life of Govardhanram Tripathi by Prof. Kantilal and of Nandshankar by his son, Mr. V. N. Mehta, B. A., I. C. S., there has been a steady advance. But we still miss that strenuous labour essential for the collection of all available material bearing on the life of the subject, and for the sifting and scientific arrangement of it, which alone can produce the finished picture, viewed from whatever standpoint, that we find in English biographical works. The reason is obvious: no encouragement is given to this branch of literature; only rich men can afford the luxury of having their biographies written, and they are few and far between. The lives of Sir Vithaldas Thakarsi and Rao Bahadur Ranchhodlal Chhotalal fall within this category, but they too are by no means model biographies. A book like Morley's "Gladstone" has yet to come. With our present literary equipment, however, we do not despair of getting it.

Travel.

39. There are works on travel and geography also, such as those of Marco Polo, and descriptions of travels in England and China and all over the world. The former are much in demand, specially those which serve as guide books for pilgrims travelling to

holy places. In the old days, when there were no such books, the pilgrim experienced great hardship on his journey; now, for a small sum, he can purchase a book in his mother tongue which gives him all the necessary information about places as far distant as Badri Nārāyan is from Rāmeshwar or Khatmandu from Dwārkā. Travels to romantic spots and to beautiful countries like Kashmir and Ceylon have inspired writers to portray scenes and narrate experiences in the inspired language of the poet, and they make very pleasant reading indeed. Travels and excursions are being undertaken now more extensively than ever before; and in consequence they contribute their quota to this branch of literature. Parsis particularly and Muslims have written much on these lines.

Philosophy.

40. Philosophy, in its various aspects, including Vedant, Pantheism and latterly Sufism, has not been absent from Gujarati prose and poetry. Manasukhram Tripathi, Nathuram Sharma, and Nrisinhāchārya have written on Vedant. This is not surprising, as the genius of the people of this province in common with the rest of India lies that way. It is difficult to versify philosophy; nevertheless, it has been done, and one finds that such treatment has met with the approval of men like the Irish poet Yeats and Dean Inge. The former says "Whatever of philosophy has been made, poetry is alone permanent." The learned Dean says, "Have not the greatest philoso-

phers been more than half-poets?.....Plato is for ever unintelligible till we read him as a prophet and prose-poet and cease to hunt for a system in his writings". This has led our foremost Gujarati thinker, Principal Ānandshankar B. Dhruva, to observe that आपणा प्राचीन ग्रंथोमां आ प्रमाणे तत्त्वज्ञान कवि प्रतिभामां प्रगट थयानां असंख्य उदाहरणो छे. On this basis he explains the incidents of शेषशायी नारायण ने लक्ष्मी, of the ताण्डव नृत्य of Shiv, which are found over and over again in Sanskrit poetic literature and reproduced in our literature.

Sufism.

The tendency of modern writers, however, is away from versifying and more towards prose, except in the case of those who, smitten with Sufism and its doctrines, indite Gazals, under the impression that they are the only proper vehicle for the ventilation of their Sufistic ideas. However, the way in which Akhu and Dayārām preached philosophy in poetry has disappeared entirely, and no one has taken their place.

Theology.

40(a). The flow of books on religious subjects has not stopped; on the contrary they are still being published in large numbers. Books on the lives of the prophet Mohammad and his followers, and on the religion preached by him, continue to appear in Gujarati. Then, what is known as Vishvāsi litera-

ture, translation of the Bible into Gujarati for the use of Gujarati converts and other literature written for them from the Christian standpoint, are also published in fairly large quantities. The number of such converts is increasing, and they all require books in their own vernacular. Many missionaries incidentally are good students of Gujarati.

Essayists.

41. Essay writing is also a product of the new generation. Here too it was Narmadāshankar that inaugurated the fashion; for his “*ધર્મ વિચાર*” is nothing else than a collection of essays on various subjects such as Sanātānism and religious and social reform. Dalpatram did some essay writing also. Rao Bahadur Sir Ramanbhai's works on poetics, morals and ethics, those of Manilal Nabhubhai on literary and religious subjects, and the large number of papers read at the sessions of the Gujarati Sāhitya Parishad are but essays in a disguised form. In the early period both Parsis and Hindus had recourse to this form of writing. They wanted to put certain facts before the masses in order to educate them and wean them away from harmful social practices; they had not yet learnt to convey such lessons through the novel and short story; and consequently they had to resort to this form of writing. One may judge of its small popularity from the fact that whereas in A. D. 1932 about a hundred novels and stories were published only six books of essays came out.

Popular Journalism.

42. The one branch of literature that seems to be really flourishing is popular journalism. A couple of interesting tables in a useful Gujarati publication, “ગ્રંથ અને ગ્રંથકાર” Vol. IV, 1933, pp. 9-10, show (a) that in about a year or a year and a half 61 new journals—newspapers and magazines—were published, (b) that the life of two of the oldest Gujarati papers extends over 125 years, (c) that the combined age of both is 227, and (d) that they range over all sorts of subjects, religious and social, political and economic, education and the cinema, public health and hygiene, khādi and Gñāti (caste), humour and satire, and others. Wherever Gujaratis congregate, whether in Burma, East Africa or South Africa, you will find a newspaper, daily or weekly, and magazines. They are quite up-to-date and modern, lacking nothing in the way of pictures, illustrations in colour or otherwise, attractive covers—all those clever touches which are intended to arrest the attention of the buyer. The several Divāli, Patēti and Īd issues published in imitation of the Xmas and New Year numbers of English papers and magazines vie with one another in their make-up and bright appearance. This branch of our literature is easily ahead of any other; and as the demand for better work and technique is growing almost from day to day, there is bound to be a still greater response and a still greater improvement.

Scientific Works.

43. Science books, though they do not belong to pure literature, are also being written in fairly large numbers. But the subject has to face many adverse circumstances. Persons who can study their science in English do not care to read books in Gujarati, and popular books such as we find in English, consisting of talks or stories on scientific subjects, are very shy in coming out. In fact there is very little encouragement in that direction, and our scientific literature, despite the efforts of States like the Baroda State and Societies like the Gujarat Vernacular Society of Ahmedabad of the Gnān Prasārak Mandali and the Forbes Gujarati Sabha of Bombay to popularise it through translations and public lectures, is definitely poor.

Art Criticism.

44. A marked advance has been made in the cultivation of the fine arts and their resuscitation. We are proud of the work of Nānālal C. Mehta, I. C. S., whose studies (in English) of Indian paintings and of Gujarati paintings in the XVth century have won a deservedly high place in the literature on the subject, and who occasionally enlivens Gujarati periodicals with the results of his labours. Kanu Desai, Ravishankar Rāval and many more have taken to कला (fine arts) seriously, and a bright future is assured for the subject, as many calls are being made on the brush of these कलाकारs by illustrated magazines and papers.

Juvenile Literature.

45. Juvenile literature is developing by leaps and bounds. Both men and women have set their hearts on it. Children's education is being approached from all sides. The old worn-out ruts of the Education Department are still there, but even they are giving way to the Kindergarten and allied systems.

The progress of the Department, however, is slow, fettered as it is by Government rules and regulations. The Dakṣiṇā Murti Vidyārthi Bhavan of Bhavnagar, the Shārdā and Bāl Mandirs of Ahmedabad, the New Era School and the Fellowship School in Bombay, are conducted by educationists who have learnt their theories from the greatest experts of the world in this sphere. The Montessori and other systems of educating the little ones, without letting them feel that they are being educated, that are followed in these institutions naturally require literature, text books, and suitable materials, and the result is that admirable little books have come out in response to the need, written both by men and by women, women such as Tārābai Modak, Hansā Behen Mehta and Vimlā Behen Setalvad. About sixty such books appeared in print in A. D. 1932, and the number is likely to increase rapidly in the near future.

Losses and Gains.

46. There was one branch of song literature in old Gujarati, the literature of “લાવણી, છાયાલ, ટપ્પા,” which was imported from the North and interested

itself exclusively in men. This literature, which answered the needs of the unlettered masses, is now for all practical purposes dead; if it exists at all, it exists in a very attenuated form.* On the other hand there was that other branch of song literature which was meant primarily for women; that was ગરબા and ગરબી literature. This has developed to a very great extent, and no girls' school is considered worth its salt if it does not pay special attention to teaching the singing of ગરબાસ.

Conclusion-Propaganda Writings.

47. Thus it may be seen that Gujarati literature is making progress in all directions, though more slowly in some than in others, and this despite the fact that the mass of the people is illiterate and poor, and that the taste for reading is infinitesimal compared with that in countries like Japan and England, where every rickshaman and cabby reads newspapers and books.

In concluding this, the first lecture of the series, I must not omit to notice the fact that politics have to a great extent influenced the course of modern literature in Gujarat as elsewhere in the country. Ten or fifteen years ago it was Tolstoy and his beliefs and writings that had hold of the popular imagination, after Mahatma Gandhi had sponsored them. Since then, however, Marxism, Leninism, Fascism have all been attracting great attention, and

*This subject is again referred to in para 106 below.

a band of rising young writers have made it the object of their lives and their writings to condemn all that is (जुनवाणी) old, to break off every connection with that part of life and literature, and to plunge headlong into the new, uncharted seas of what they call progress. To them, even Mahatma Gandhi and his preaching and principles look like a spent force. Their activities have won many recruits, as their aim is to destroy what exists to clear the way for the new era, and destruction is always easier than construction.

LECTURE II.

Literature of Criticism and Review.

48. Literary criticism, though in Europe as old as the days of Aristotle, and in India as old as Sanskrit literature, is a comparatively modern departure in Gujarati literature. In Europe most of it, in ancient times, was concerned with Poetry and Poetics; in India it was occupied with scholastic expositions, so that the art of review and criticism, as we understand it now, is of recent origin. As to how books should be criticised or reviewed, opinions differ. Macaulay remarked that Dr. Johnson, one of the greatest of English reviewers, judged authors like a lawyer, with the cold impartiality of a judge, and he held this to be the proper attitude. Matthew Arnold, another well-known English critic, considered a writer in relation to the mental atmosphere of the time. The important view enunciated by him was that "the criticism which alone can much help us for the future is a criticism which regards Europe as being, for intellectual and spiritual purposes, one great confederation, bound to a joint action and working to a common result." (Nelson's Encyclopaedia Vol. VII, p. 355). The substitution of "India" for "Europe" in the above observation might furnish us with the most proper and desirable standard by which to review publications in the various vernaculars, not excepting Gujarati. Present forces at work in India aim at making it one great confederation for political

purposes is it not possible to make it so for intellectual purposes, "bound to a joint action and working to a common result?" In addition to this general standard it is proposed to extract from the literature devoted to criticism a few simple standards by which books are, or rather should be, reviewed, and then to see how far they are observed in Gujarati.

Functions of the Critic.

(i). "On the whole, criticism is now descriptive rather than interpretative, and is more occupied in disengaging an author's qualities than in judging them. If it compares one author with another, its purpose is not to prove one the better, but rather to illustrate the different methods, manners and points of view. Perhaps its best work is in placing the author in relation to the general tendencies of the time and in analysing and tracing the main movements in the literary life, whether individual or national." (Nelson's Encyclopaedia Vol. VII, pp. 356-7). (ii). "The duties of a reviewer in criticising the work of an author, whether new to literature or of established reputation, are, after all, to convey to the public whether the book is worth reading, and if so, to what extent its authority, its style or its theme is a reliable basis for consideration and study." (The task of the Reviewer: The "Times of India," 24th March 1933). (iii). "The interests of the author are also considered by the good reviewer in commenting on his work, and criticism, however adverse, should—and generally is—meant to be of

assistance." (Ibid). That is, criticism should be creative. (iv). "Every composition contains within itself the rules by which it should be criticised, or, as Manzoni himself more carefully puts it, offers to any one who wishes to examine it the principles necessary to form a judgment of it. These principles may be obtained by asking three questions: What was the author's intention? Was the intention reasonable? Has the author carried it out? In other words, *discover* the purpose: *judge* its worth: *criticise* the technique." (An Outline of Modern Knowledge, published by Victor Gollancz Limited.-1932). (v). "Style is the revelation of the very spirit of a work and of the personality of the author. Style is the man indeed, but the man doing a particular piece of work in a particular kind of mood." (Ibid). (vi). "Few writers can claim with certainty that their style has been unaffected by various literary influences." (Ibid).

Methods of Review.

49. Opinions on books (reviews) are furnished either privately or publicly or in both ways. Usually the author, sometimes the publisher, sends copies to certain persons privately and asks them for their opinions in a letter, or sends copies to journals and periodicals with a request to the editor to notice them, or he does both. When he follows the first method, he generally publishes the opinions either in pamphlet form or as an appendix to the work or publishes extracts when advertising the book. Of late, it has become a permanent feature of every daily or weekly

newspaper and almost of every monthly to devote some space to the review of books, and so large is the output that there is never room to spare; on the contrary the space allotted is often found inadequate.

50. A large number of books of recent publication contain a foreword or an introduction from the pen of a person other than the writer. This notice is not seldom more than a mere introduction: it extensively reviews the subject and the author's execution of his task. It thus provides an additional method of reviewing. This introductory review is in its turn also reviewed by the reviewer of the book.

Narmadāshankar.

51. One will not be wrong if one gives Narmadāshankar the credit for having initiated the idea of reviewing in recent times. His love for the verses of the old Gujarati poets and his researches into their work naturally led him to express his opinion on the quality of their compositions; this was the starting-point. His work is rudimentary and undeveloped. He reviewed, not because he wanted particularly to be a reviewer, but because the new lines he was chalking out for Gujarati literature required a review of its past achievement; he had to review the past if only in order to avoid its pitfalls. He was not conscious of there being any canons of criticism for the critic to follow. Take, for instance, his review of the poetical work of Premānand or Dayāram. He just judges them from their com-

positions. In doing so, he unconsciously follows the canon laid down in the first part of para 48 (iv), namely that every composition contains within itself the rules by which it should be judged. He had to take stock of the times in which they lived and the public for whom they wrote (para 48 (i)). This was the rule by which they were to be judged. It did not take long, however, for this incipient stage to develop, and the next man, his own friend, admirer and biographer, raised the art to a very high level; he stands as a model to budding reviewers.

Navalram.

Navalram (A. D. 1836-1888) shone in many directions in Gujarati literature, but he remains unsurpassed as a critic and a reviewer of Gujarati books. As the editor of "Gujarat Shālā Patra," a periodical published under the auspices of the Educational Department, he had unrivalled opportunities of going through Gujarati publications as they came out, and these opportunities he utilised to the full for purposes of review. His reviews were appreciated so much that hardly a single writer failed to send his work to him, and his hands were always full. His mode of reviewing is described by that well-known writer, Govardhanram M. Tripathi, in his life of Navalram, where he expounds certain principles resembling those given in para 48 above as being the principles which Navalram followed. Reviewing a book means this: "to know and make others know the good points thereof;" "no good reviewer

would look only at that which the author has done ill ; people want to smell the perfume of a flower, not its evil smell ; he himself feasts and makes others feast on good fare." "This does not mean that he has not to look or make others look at the defects of the writer : but he says, "Brother, look here, there is an evil smell here : separate it, don't breathe it (*i. e.*, throw it away) take in only the perfume. Whoever finds fault only is no reviewer : he who cannot separate the wheat from the chaff is no reviewer." "A bee finds out the honey in a flower which to common eyes is invisible, in the same way a good reviewer has to find out the good points of a writer which are not seen by others." [Compare para 48 (*ii*)]. "A reviewer should be in a position to take in experiences of various sorts" (Naval Granthāvali, Part II, Edition 1915, pp. 52-55).

Steady Improvement.

52. The slow but steady improvement in the critical work of Navalram has been ably traced from its very beginnings to its maturity by the same learned biographer. At first his reviews would begin with a great burst of admiration, and then sink like a spent rocket. The treatment, in other words, did not maintain the same level, and what was begun as a review degenerated at the end into a summary of the subject matter. The next or transition stage begins to show a grasp of the fundamentals of the art of reviewing, and the reviews published

at this time to reveal the good points and bad points of the work of the author being criticised. There is neither lethargy nor impetuosity; the author makes up his own mind clearly, and offers his own suggestions in a quiet way. In the last phase we find him settling down in his methods, which, thanks to his mature experience, now assumed the form for which he came to be known and respected as a popular reviewer—popular in the sense that he could point out shortcomings without hurting the feelings of the writer, popular in the sense that even though the reader of his review had not read the book under notice, he was still able to know what it was about, its good points and bad points, and thus be tempted to read it. The review thus benefitted both the author and his prospective reader. His longest review, that of the life of Karsandas Mulji, was one such. Gently he tells the author what are the essential requirements of a biography, thereby implying that they are not all found in the book, which is, to that extent, defective. The tendency, one might say the pronounced tendency, of his reviews of the work of the rising young writer was to encourage him; not to crush any latent powers, or the promise that lay in him, by unkind blows. On the other hand, in reviewing the work of seasoned writers, he did not spare them censure for their shortcomings, nor praise, where praise was deserved.

53. To sum up, Navalram's criticism of the work of rising authors was essentially creative, and

of definite assistance to them, para 48 (iii). For mature writers, and in his longer reviews, he follows the principles laid down in para 48 (iv); in other words, he first tries to discover the purpose of the author in writing his book and then judges its worth and criticises its technique in the light of that purpose. As an instance, one may read his review of the story called “अधेरी नगरीनो गधर्वसेन,” by the late Rao Bahadur Hargovinddas Kāntāvālā, a distinguished writer and educationist of the old school. It is true that he did not concentrate in his notices of books so much—very little in fact—on the style of the writer, para 48 (v) (vi), as on other features of his work, but that deficiency hardly detracts from the high merit of his observations.

Modern Reviewers.

54. While Navalram instinctively followed the accepted canons of criticism in his book reviews, having had no opportunity to study them at college (he did not pass his Matriculation examination), the same cannot be said of those who followed him. Reviewers like the late Rao Bahadur Sir Ramanbhai M. Nilkanth, the late Prof. Manilal Nabhubhai Dwivedi, Prof. Narasinhrao B. Divatia, Prof. Ānandshankar Dhruva or Prof. B. K. Thakore were distinguished *alumni* of the Bombay University, and as such they had access to the best books in English and Sanskrit on the subject. Classics like Matthew Arnold's “Essay on Criticism” and Saintsbury's “History of Criticism” were at their disposal

to guide them in their task, and in consequence their reviews were more systematised and scientific. They did, however, betray one drawback; their language was high, Sanskritised, the principles laid down were above the heads of the ordinary reader, and in consequence much of the better part of their work has not been grasped by the masses (आम वर्ग); it is only the college-educated youth that can follow them. Some of the longer reviews of Sir Ramanbhai, which merge into essays, on Narasinhrao's poetry, although the best of their kind, nevertheless repel the ordinary reader by their length, their technical terms and their high-flown language. They further assume that the reader of the review has gone carefully through the work reviewed; and unless he has done so, he is quite unable to appreciate the points made.

Navalram's reviews became popular because he made no such assumption; he gave a short outline of the work under notice, and shaped his criticism in such a way as to induce the reader to take up the book and read it. In pointing out this difference between the methods of the two schools, it is not intended to discredit either: both are correct; for unless one has read a book, one cannot really appreciate its virtues and defects, and yet, on the other hand, the author is only too glad if his work is reviewed in such a way as to attract the reader of the review to read the book itself. Prof. Divatia's reviews of works like Nānāl's "Jayā and Jayant" or Khabardār's poetry, are ponderous, defeating their purpose by their heaviness and their

inordinate length. They follow the canons of criticism correctly; they move logically, scientifically to their conclusion; they go very intimately into the points made; they do not miss even a single feature, good or bad, worth notice; and yet somehow or other he has not achieved popularity. Something, perhaps his outspokenness or ponderosity, or perhaps the very high level of style maintained throughout, has prevented his reviews from being read by the mass of readers. The highly learned and instructive introductions contributed by him to books of other writers also betray the same features.

New and Old.

Even while Navalram was yet busy with his review work in his own simple way, the seeds of the other school were being sown. In A. D. 1888 was published Prof. Divatia's collection of poems called "Kusum Mālā." Navalram's review was very short and terse. He realized that the verses, modelled as they were on those of Shelley and Wordsworth, were intended to give an idea to the Gujarati reader as to what sort of poetry the West wrote and read. He praised them as being delightful and on the whole easy to understand, although the language and style were cultured (शुद्ध—fully developed). This same "Kusum Mālā" was reviewed by a representative of the new school, Sir Ramanbhai Nilkanth, who in happy vein, called it "a green oasis in a dry, hot desert." Another representative of the same school, Prof. Manilal N. Dwivedi, who also reviewed it, found it to be full of

flowers, exotic and English, bright coloured but odourless, nothing better than a garland of flowers skilfully woven in obedience to the alluring vogue then prevalent of considering everything coming from the West worthy of imitation.

This duel between the representatives of the new or Western methods and those of the conservative or orthodox later developed into a battle royal, and lasted almost as long as Prof. Manilal was alive (A. D. 1898). Narasinhrao's second collection, called "Hridaya Viñā," provoked a similar controversy. Manilal found in it, as he stated in his magazine "सुदर्शन" a sort of विषमता unevenness, roughness, the result of the alien or foreign note he strikes (विदेशीय संगीत विषमता उपजावे છે અને હૃદયવિના પાશ્ચાત્ય સંગીતના આલપોથી ભરેલી જગાય છે.) Sir Ramanbhai saw in it all that was best in the lyrical literature of England. He supported his opinion by citing Sanskrit works on poetics. His review fills nearly one hundred pages of the collection of his writings, called "कविता अने साहित्य" (Edition of A. D. 1904).

Even before this sharp division of opinion between rival reviewers in Navalram's own time, a new school had come into being, whose followers were brought up in the traditions of English reviewers, and as time passed the number of such followers increased.

Prof. Anandshankar Dhruva's profound knowledge of Sanskrit, both of its literary and philosophical works, coupled with a wide and close knowledge

of the English classics, have imparted to his reviews a very scholarly bent. By nature he is both sedate and sober; this sobriety and sedateness are reflected in his work, and his reviews are always temperate, मितभाषी, and quite different from those of Prof. Divatia. He does not care to penetrate to the very bottom of the subject, at the risk of scaring away his reader, as Prof. Divatia or Prof. Thakore do, careless of whether the reader is interested in the minutiae or not. He skilfully skims over it, and makes an obvious attempt to hold his reader's attention. His criticisms are instructive, informative, couched in unoffending language, yet pointing out at the same time the defects of the work under review.

Prof. B. K. Thakore is a versatile writer, and his powers of review are a part of that versatility. He has read much and digested it all. He is still reading and leading his students into useful directions. His reviews are always full, even overflowing; they do not err on the side of brevity; they betray signs of deep study; and, though they may not be as scholarly as those of Prof. Anandshankar, they are never superficial. Like Prof. Divatia, he cites authority for every point made by him. It is conceivable that one might secure an entirely favourable and sympathetic review from such a keen and strict critic as Prof. Divatia, but the same cannot be predicated of Prof. Thakore. He cannot rest unless he finds fault, perhaps because of his querulous or finicky nature. He never misses an opportunity of dealing a blow, even though he has

to fly off at a tangent to do so. Still, his reviews are such as one likes to read, not because of their spiciness, but because they are always to the point and not overlaid with extraneous or technical matter.

Lesser Critics.

55. There are numerous lesser critics, who contribute to the many dailies, weeklies and monthlies. "Sāhitya," one of the monthlies, whose Editor, Mr. Matubhai H. Kāntāvālā, M. A., unhappily for Gujarati literature, died recently (November A.D. 1933), after having served the journal for twenty-one years on end, maintained a fairly good level of criticism, its predominant feature being its outspokenness. Mr. Kāntāvālā's reviews^a were nearly always short, but significant. He managed to say a great deal in a few words, and as there was no bias behind his outspokenness, everyone looked forward to what he had to say about a particular publication.

The Modern Review.

56. I myself contributed short notices and reviews of Gujarati publications to the "Modern Review" of Calcutta from its foundation in A. D. 1907 upto the time it ceased to publish reviews of works in the vernaculars in A. D. 1932, * that is, for a period of twenty-seven years, without missing a month. My method was to give a short outline or summary of the subject matter of the publication and my opinion

* It has resumed publication of Book notices from January A. D. 1934.

as to how the writer had acquitted himself. A few words of encouragement were given to young writers, and, wherever necessary, flagrant shortcomings were broadly pointed out. Elaborate criticism was not considered necessary, in view of the object of the publication of the review, which was to make students of other vernaculars acquainted with the progress or otherwise of Gujarati literature. The notices, I flatter myself, served their purpose.

Other Magazines.

57. Such high-class literary magazines as the "Vasant," "Kaumudi" and "Prasthān" exact a high literary standard from the writers who send their works to them for review, specially "Kaumudi," which divides its reviews into long and short notices, as do some of the English and American magazines—the "Contemporary Review" and others—and, in the longer reviews, applies critical tests borrowed from the best English and even Continental reviewers. At times the performance reminds one of the words of a Gujarati proverb—"the top-heavy turban larger than the head" (માથા કરતાં પાઘડી મ્હોટી) though not exactly ridiculous still pretentious, wiseacrish; the application of the Nasmyth hammer to kill a fly. Nevertheless it is an effort to raise the standard of this branch of our literature; it is a signpost pointing the way and as such it is to be welcomed. Its angularities and peculiarities will no doubt be rounded off with the passage of time.

Dailies and Weeklies.

58. The dailies and weeklies, although they have thrown open their columns to the review of books, cannot spare much space for the subject, as their main function is to publish news. Day in, day out, they continue to receive books, reports, pamphlets, booklets and leaflets on every subject under the sun. The senders expect reviews; the editors dare not disappoint them. The result is that both quality and quantity to a certain extent suffer. They cannot devote columns and columns to reviews; each notice, therefore, has to be very brief. If the writer of the review does not possess the quality of terseness, it becomes superficial. Reports, leaflets, and like publications, are sent more with a view to getting publicity for the institution concerned, and they require to be handled differently. A few lines suffice for the purpose. At times, however, it is difficult to disentangle from this scrap heap a book review from a report 'write-up.' This jumbling-up prejudices the interests of both.

Dearth of Talent.

59. Novices can play at this game. Every tyro fresh from college or even from the school considers himself fit to sit in judgment on a writer, be that writer a novice like himself or otherwise. He is in a hurry to get rich quick. He is in no mood to wait and learn; his college studies, he thinks, have given him enough material on which to work. One by one the places of the few

experienced and seasoned reviewers are falling vacant, and it will take some time for them to be filled up by mature and sober writers. In the meanwhile let us hope that the novices, as they get older and wiser, will pick up the right materials and achieve that balance of thought and expression which alone can keep the light burning. At present, it cannot be gainsaid, there is a void, but in due time no doubt it will disappear.

Heavy Responsibility.

60. Works of fiction, the plethora of novels, novelettes and short stories, have monopolised the attention of the rising generation of writers and readers, both among men and women; some of them are of such ephemeral interest that often they come and go without attracting attention. Such fiction, therefore, needs a different sort of approach. "The flood of superficial, ill-written 'novelised' nonsense which is published nowadays emphasises only too tragically the little time given for real thought under modern conditions. The 'thriller' is naturally a production calculated to take the mind off the worries of daily life, and should be judged in its capacity as a sedative rather than as a work of literary value." This is a quotation from an editorial in the "Times of India" of 24th March 1933, and the state of affairs described there exactly fits the present situation of our literature. The responsibility of the reviewer to the public is thus set out there. "The reviewer has it in his power to stem, slowly perhaps, but surely, the flow of bad

books which are doing infinitely more harm to public morality and taste than the Cinema. Since the public subscribes to almost anything, thereby undermining the morality of publishers, who are after all primarily businessmen, more discrimination should be used. At the moment anything can command a market which is racy enough to excite the so-called modern mind." This responsibility towards the public is too lightly undertaken. Unless the works possess true merit, they should not be 'boomed' and 'boosted.' Almost every one, whether his knowledge of the subject is deep or not, thinks that he is fitted for the task of the reviewer, and the result is that the review is what Sir Ramanbhai calls "a wilderness of words" वाग विस्तार devoid of अर्थ गौरव "depth of meaning," (कविता अने साहित्य p. 713, 1904 Edition) a state of things which he very much deploras.

LECTURE III.

RESEARCH IN OLD LITERATURE.

Scholarship and Research.

61. European scholars even in the early days of the East India Company's rule were alive to the great literary value of the Mss. which were to be found in large numbers all over India, specially in Sanskrit, Prakrit and allied languages. As we Indians attached very little value to them, they were able to remove them from our country and enrich the libraries of their own country. There, however, they did not repeat the mistake which we had made in allowing them to lie undeciphered and unpublished in the houses or Bhandārs in which they were found. They studied them, translated them, commented on them and restored them to their proper place in the literature of India. It then dawned on us that they were treasures that should not be parted with, even at a price. Indian scholars became alive to the situation, and began to search for and obtain valuable Mss. ; then studied them on the same lines as did European scholars, and gave the benefit of their study to the general public. This state of things—an initial ignorance giving way to a gradually dawning realisation of the value of research—has been a common feature in the literary life of all provinces in India in recent times. Gujarat has been no exception to the rule, and it is only comparatively recently that we have come to

appreciate the real worth of old Mss. There are instances of valuable Mss., being sold off for paltry amounts, or even thrown on the dunghill or into rivers and wells as being so much lumber—so much rubbish wasting household space. In spite of this awakening, such great ignorance of their value still persists in towns and villages that, at the weekly Bazars (Gujaris) held at Ahmedabad and Surat, it is no uncommon sight to see Mss. being put up for sale by ignorant villagers, like the produce of their field or garden, and disposed of for a couple of annas.

Efforts for Preservation.

62. Naturally no census has been taken of the number of such Mss. existing at present in Gujarat and Kathiawad, nor has a survey been made of the subjects of which they treat. They are scattered over the length and breadth of the province, and there must be very few villages or towns, inhabited by Brahmins and Banias, which do not even to-day possess old Mss. in the shape of copies of valuable works. They are to found in private houses as well as in Jain Upāshraya Bhandars and temple libraries, and the movement to drag them out of their dark cells into the light of day is making but slow headway. Well-wishers of our literature, such as the late Mr. A. K. Forbes, set the ball of their collection and preservation rolling. It was he who made it one of the objects of the Societies he brought into existence to collect the Mss. of Gujarati books and to preserve

and publish them. In his own life time he collected quite a large number, and the Forbes Gujarati Sabha of Bombay, once it had begun to function actively, engaged paid agents for the collection of such Mss. in Kathiawad and Gujarat. Nearly 275 have already been discovered and more are still being collected. A catalogue of the Mss. giving a summary of the subject matter of each one, the time when it was copied and other useful information, has been published in two parts, and such of the Mss. as deserve publication have been and are being published. The Gujarat Vernacular Society of Ahmedabad also devotes its funds and energies to this purpose. In fact this Society, under the inspiration and direction of Mr. Forbes, was the pioneer institution in the movement.

The first stage in all research work is the getting hold of materials. There could be no research into Mss. if there were no Mss. The collection of Mss., therefore, was the most important part of this work, and the literary conscience of Gujarat had to be roused in the first place to an appreciation of the worth of its seemingly valueless, but in reality invaluable, hidden treasures. The second stage was research from various points of view, such as the philological, the stylistic, the historical and social. The third was their preservation, which could be accomplished only by printing and publishing them. All these stages required men and money, and they are still required. Our research work still stands on the threshold; we have touched only its fringe.

Prāchin Kāvya Mālā.

63. The late Rao Bahadur Hargovinddas D. Kāntavālā, with the help of a colleague, Nāthāshankar Shāstri, was the first Gujarati to undertake all the three stages of this work systematically, and the thirty-five volumes of his “Prāchin Kāvya Mālā” will for ever stand as a monument to his diligence in unearthing Mss., copies of the works of old and well-known Gujarati poets, and in publishing them with appropriate notes and comments. It was H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwad, however, with his innate love for literature and his liberality, that enabled the work to be completed. In this instance, as both men and money were forthcoming, a most creditable piece of work was accomplished. About the same time (A. D. 1886) a monthly (“Prāchin Kāvya” was in the beginning a three-monthly magazine converted later into a running series) called અપ્રસિદ્ધ ગુજરાતી પુસ્તક and also containing copies of the manuscript works of several Gujarati poets, came out, but later ceased publication as there was very little response from the public. Navalram, with the rare acumen which he possessed, at once realized the great importance of this work, and his review, extending over nearly five pages, welcomes it with open arms. While fully appreciating the labour and assiduity of the antiquarian, however, he points out certain ~~ways~~ in which they could be made more useful. He observed that a nation that did not possess printed editions of its classical works could hardly claim to be called a nation in the cultural sense. He therefore felt

delighted at the steps that were being taken to remove the blot.

63 (a). H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwad has ordered the preservation of all old works in his Oriental Institute. Kavi Dalpatram published selections from works of old poets and the eight splendid volumes of बृहत्काव्यदोहन published by the late Ichhāram S. Desai are a monumental task. He has published entire works of other old poets. Narmadāshankar loved Dayaram, Ichhāram loved Narasinh Mehta, and they therefore did much to revive their memory. Rao Bahadur Hargovinddas Kāntāvālā revived Premānand.

“Sāhitya.”

64. The movement thus inaugurated has not spent its force; rather it is that day after day it gathers greater momentum, and now we find a number of students engaged in working through all the three stages of manuscript research work. As long as he lived Rao Bahadur Hargovinddas continued to publish such literature through the medium of the periodical “Sāhitya” edited by his son Matubhai, and after him the latter took a lively interest in the subject uptil the time of his death. Every issue of the monthly contained eight to ten or even more pages of some work of an old Gujarati poet, unearthed at some cost and with much labour. Deriving inspiration from such work others have now begun to tread the same path. For instance, Mr. B. J. Sāndesarā has lately procured an old copy of a poem—called “सिंहासन

बन्नीसी ” written by a Jain poet Sanghviyay in Samvat year 1678, and has published it in the “Sāhitya” with appropriate notes. This manuscript copy was found along with two other in the private library of a Jain ascetic, Muni Shri Jashvijayji.

Jain Temple Libraries.

65. The largest collections of old Gujarati Mss. are to be found with the Jains, mostly in the libraries of their temples. Their Sadhus have done a tremendous amount of writing and composing; it is they who kept the torch of knowledge alight during the darkest days of political anarchy in the province. They were great students, and they passed their whole leisure in reading, writing, composing and copying. All the fruits of this incessant labour of theirs have unfortunately been locked up in various places—places of public worship, places where the Sadhus lived, and even in private houses, whose owners were favoured with the gift of books from such Sadhus. Ahmedabad alone possesses many such collections. Cambay too is an important place from this point of view. Pātan from earliest times has been the stronghold of the Jain community, and consequently possesses one of the richest stores of research material in India. Here once more the generosity and encouragement of literary activities by H. H. the Gaekwad has helped the cause of research. It was he that appointed the well-known Sanskrit scholar, the late Prof. Manilal N. Dwivedi, to visit the Bhandārs at Pātan, and to prepare a catalogue

of the works found there. But he died before he could finish the work, and another scholar, equally expert, Mr. Chimanlal Dalal, M. A., was appointed to take his place. After doing some very valuable work, he too, however, was cut off in the prime of life, and as a result the work has suffered considerably. But despite this double misfortune, the flow of energy has not stopped. Various Jain associations, societies and scholars are devoting unremitting attention to the various branches of learning—poetry, history, romance, Rāsā, philosophy—handled by Jain authors, and the listing and cataloguing, commentating and publishing of old Jain Mss. is going on apace. The series called “Shri Anāṇḍ Kāvya Mahodādhī,” the catalogues published by the Jain Shwetāmbar Conference, Bombay, the splendid volumes on the Jain poets and their works by Mr. Mohanlal Dalichand Desai, amongst others, provide undeniable proof that the conscience of the community has been aroused. Lack of space forbids mention of the names of all the individuals and Associations working in this field, but enough has been said to indicate that the spirit is still alive.

86. Collections of non-Jain writings are comparatively few and unimportant. The libraries of Societies like the Forbes Gujarati Sabha and the Gujarat Vernacular Society possess a small number, but what they have they are putting to great use. Those which they have not yet decided to publish are freely put by them at the disposal of those who want them.

Research To-day.

67. Students of old Gujarati are increasing day by day. What with Gujarati, both old and modern, finding a settled place in the syllabus of the University examinations, what with the encouragement given by H. H. the Gaekwad, what with the liking created for it by pioneer students like Narasinhrao B. Divatia and Diwan Bahadur Keshavlal Dhruva, serious attempts are being made to speed up the work; and even men not educated in modern schools and colleges, such as the late Mr. Manilal Bakorbhai Vyas, whom the Forbes Gujarati Sabha had specially engaged for the collection of Mss. and the aged school-master, Chhaganlal Vidyāram Rāval, have undertaken and turned out valuable work. Exhibitions held at some of the sessions of the Gujarati Sāhitya Parishad, at important centres in Gujarat and Kathiawad help to tap the sources round about them, and an imposing collection of old manuscripts is always a leading feature of such shows. Those held at Surat (A. D. 1915) and Rajkot (A. D. 1909) were by far the best; of the two, Surat was the more representative. The Secretary in charge, Mr. Manilal Bakorbhai Vyas, was an expert in collecting and estimating the value of old Mss., and the speech he delivered as the organiser of the Pradarshan was a valuable contribution to the subject. It showed that the bulk of the manuscript part of the Exhibition was taken up by writings of Jain Sadhus. All three sections, the Shwetāmbar, the Digambar and the Sthānakvāsi (Dhundhiās) were represented. The curious thing

about the last section is that although a majority of Dhundhiās inhabit parts of India like Marwad, the Punjab and Malwa, where Gujarati is not the current language, yet commentaries on their Dharma Sutras (written in Prakrit) were written in Gujarati, making it necessary for Dhundhiās all over the country to read Gujarati. The reason is that Lonkāshā, who founded this schismatic section in about the sixteenth century of the Vikrama Era, belonged to Gujarat. The Digambara vied with the Shwetāmbara in the observance of their Samprayādic ideals, and they carried their rivalry into literature. We therefore often find a work bearing one and the same name written by the two different sections. If a Rāsā (poem) describing Anjanā Sundari was composed by a Shwetāmbari Sadhu, a Digambari Sadhu on coming to know of it was sure to compose a similar Rāsā in which Anjanā Sundari would be shown to be a Digambari. Both these sects, however, united in their rivalry of Brahmins and Vaishnavas ; this is why we come across Jain Rāmāyaṇa and similar other works also.

Earliest Writings.

68. The results of the investigations of Manilal Vyas and of Chimanlal Dalal, of whom the latter also gave us a glimpse into his research work at the Pātan Jain Bhandārs, in a paper read at the sessions, goes to show that the oldest writings that they could find belonged to a period round about Samvat 1100, and that they were written in the popular language

(लोकभाषा) of the time, that is, Apabramsha. About 1300 Samvat Era, the language began to undergo a change and to resemble Gujarati. Chimanlal has traced these slow but perceptible changes right up to 1600, his materials being derived almost exclusively from Jain sources. The establishment of Mohamman rule in Gujarat hastened the change.

69. The Exhibition included treatises written on palmyra-leaves . (ताडपत्र) and the bark of the birch tree (भोजपत्र), as well as on paper. Those written on paper date as far back as Samvat year 1400, and end in 1900, surely a remarkable achievement in collection, ranging as it does over a period of five centuries. It is a pity that the Exhibition could not find a permanent habitation; if it had, antiquarians would have had a valuable mine in which to work. Incidentally the copper-plate inscriptions collected there threw much light on the changes that the written characters (Lipi) had undergone in assuming their present form. The oldest plate is of Samvat year 813 and is inscribed in characters resembling Brāhmi. Inscriptions in Nāgari or Muldevi Lipi and in Gujarati Lipi were exhibited systematically arranged. Besides these inscriptions the workers were able to procure a prose book written in Samvat year 1683 in Gujarati Lipi, all the previous ones being in Nāgari, thus showing that at that time Nāgari Lipi was being slowly displaced.

Medieval Copyists.

70. The reason why there was such an abundance of manuscript writing in early days, when the art of printing was yet unknown, is said to be that the wealthy placed (ज्ञानदान) the encouragement (literally "gift") of learning in the forefront of their charities. They thought they would earn merit if they caused a large number of copies to be made and distributed amongst people who might be expected to use them. The Jains, especially, followed this practice extensively, and supplied their Sadhus with copies of innumerable books. It is natural therefore to find a number of copies of one and the same work copied out by different scribes, who, as part of their profession, saw nothing wrong in altering the original text as they fancied. This has led to great confusion, and it has always been a difficult task to find out the correct and original text of any known work in old Gujarati.

Queer Finds.

71. The richness of the existing Pātan Bhandārs is shown by the fact disclosed by Mr. Chimanlal that they house 658 palmyra-leaf books and 13,000 Mss. Kumārpāl founded 21 Bhandārs and Vastupāl spent 18 crores of rupees in founding three libraries, but they all seem to have disappeared without leaving a book behind in Pātan. A curious find was of some Tibetan translations of books on Nyāya written in Sanskrit by Buddhist authors, the originals of which had disappeared from India. The description

of the books, some of them about a thousand years old, found in those Bhandārs, is most interesting, and a valuable milestone in Gujarati research work. ताडपत्र (Palmyra-leaf) books written in prose as early as Samvat year 1330 are also preserved there. Dr. Bühler, Dr. Bhandarkar, Dr Peterson' and other scholars visited these Bhandārs, but not one of them, owing to various difficulties, was able to do the research work as thoroughly as Mr. Chimanlal. He will, therefore, easily remain our foremost pioneer in this direction.

Rajkot Exhibition.

72. The Exhibition held at Rajkot (A.D. 1909), though it comprised only a small number of Mss., possessed remarkable features ; books written on the bark of the birch tree (भुर्जपत्र) arrested attention by their novelty; there were the ताड (ताल) पत्र palmyra-leaf books, and Gujarati Mss., from Samvat year 1490 onwards were also exhibited. The result of the research was summarised in an admirable note, which gives much food for thought and establishes the need for further endeavours in this direction.

Jealous Guardians.

73. As an instance of how jealously these Mss. are guarded, I may cite what happened at a place called the Bungalow of Kalliasdasji Maharaj at Kahānavā, near Jambusar in the Broach District. The library there possesses in Mss., many works of the poet Akhā, and but for the permission

kindly given by the Gādipat of the place to Sagar, a well-known poet, who has brought them to light by editing and publishing they would still have remain an important side of Akhā's poetry, his inclination towards Sufism, would still have remained unknown.

74. Meanwhile the number of research workers goes on increasing. Students like Ambalal B. Jani, Natvarlal Ichharam Desai, Manjulal R. Majmudar from Gujarat and Jagjivan Badheka from Kathiawad are ever on the alert to get at old Mss. and to present them to the public in a readable form.

Parsi Scholars.

75. Parsi scholars have shown great aptitude for research work. Men like the late T. D. Ankalesariā, R. P. Karkariā, G. K. Nariman, Dr. Sir Jivanji J. Mody, amongst the dead, revelled in the task; and Prof. Hodivālā and Mr. B. T. Ankalesariā, amongst the living, are equally keen on the work. Sir Jivanji Modi's many papers and writings relating either to the history or literature of Gujarat as affecting his own community are studded with references to old Mss. preserved in Parsi centres of learning like Navsari, Broach and Surat. His work, though confined only to the Parsis, cannot be ignored in considering the state of affairs in Gujarat whether from the historical or literary point of view, as Parsis are for all practical purposes inhabitants of Gujarat, speaking the same language and, excepting for the difference in religion, living almost the same

lives as their Hindu brethren. The proceedings at their caste meetings (Anjumans) were conducted and recorded in Gujarati, and the old minutes of such meetings have preserved the language spoken at the time. Similarly the Parsi poets of that time followed the vogue of their Hindu brother poets and composed poetry in the same vein. Mss. copies of these poetical works have been made available by the exertions of Parsi scholars, and they betray the same characteristic, as regards the vitiation of the text at the hands of ignorant copyists, as is found in the case of Hindu writers; the only difference being that their copyists were naturally co-religionists and not Hindus. As instances of the immense labour bestowed on the collection of all available materials with a view to scientific research, and the publication of texts with annotations, the "Siāva(k)sh Nāmeh" and the "Zarthosht Nāmeh" of Mobed Peshoan Hamjiar may be mentioned. This poet, who lived in Surat, wrote these poems in A. D. 1680 and 1676 respectively. Nearly 60 years ago, when research in connection with old Mss. was on the threshold of recognition as a valuable branch of Gujarati literature, Erwad Tehmuras Dinsha Anklesariā brought out an edition of the "Siāva (k)sha Nāmeh," which showed considerable labour and assiduous work from a research point of view.

Zarthost Nāmā.

76. Whatever the short-comings that were to be found in "Siāva(k)sh Nāmeh" edited by the

father, they have been removed by the son, Mr. Behrāngor Tehmuras Anklesariā, in the recent handsome volume of "Zorthosht Nāmā" published by him. An eminent scholar of Zand, Pehalvi and Persian, and a student of Gujarati, he was well fitted for his task, and the introduction of this book provides a rich treasure house for those who desire to investigate this branch of Gujarati literature. He has laboured to procure every available Ms. copy of the poem, and has set out the differences and variations in each. His labours do not stop with the inspection of Mss. only. He has tried, with the assistance of works in various languages, such as Zand, Pehalvi, French, Sanskrit and English, to illumine every dark corner in connection with the life of the poet, his times and his work. He has tried to discover, for example, how much he owes to his Hindu contemporary poets for the style and the form in which he cast his Nāmeh.

77. The greatest service, however, that he has, by his laborious research, rendered to Gujarat, like his late father, was in revealing, in a clear and unmistakable way, the form in which Gujarati was written in verse by cultured Parsis two and a half centuries ago. They could not avoid the importation of Persian ideas, words and idioms; at the same time they could not ignore the very genius of the language in which they were writing. The result was a production to all outward appearance a Gujarati poem, clothed in Gujarati garb, conforming to Gujarati patterns, but decorated with foreign ornaments. In

reviewing Siāva(k)sh Nāmeḥ in "Milestones in Gujarati literature," I said that "Altogether the work will be found on close perusal interesting from several points of view, literary.....philological and social." In editing the earlier work Mr. Anklesariā has examined it from all these points of view, and has set out his conclusions very clearly.

Prose Works.

78. Though he was concerned with poetry only, he could not help, in the course of his investigations, coming across certain prose works written in those early days, and these he has noted also. A Ms. copy of "Arda Virāf Nāmeḥ," written in Pāzand, Gujarati and Sanskrit by a Parsi priest, Bahram sut Lakshmidhar, in the Samvat year 1507, has been reviewed; but it seems that an earlier translation of the Nāmeḥ into Gujarati (Samvat year 1471), also done by a Parsi, exists. It is possible to go still further back; for a translation of the sacred "Khordeh Avesta" is said to have existed either prior to or about A. D. 1331. Incidentally the editor mentions two instances of how valuable Mss. were rescued from being used as wrappers at grocery shops. A fine volume of Persian Ravā-yats written about 250 years ago was purchased for twelve annas from a Hindu grocer, and an equally valuable Ms. for eight annas from the same shop-keeper.

79. For some time past not a single issue of the weekly "Gujarati" misses some talk on or references

to 'old Mss. and men from Kathiawad, one is glad to notice, are taking a prominent part in their collection. Mr. Jagjivan N. Badhekā of Bhavnagar, and Mr. Keshavram K. Shastri, of Māngrol, are devoting much of their time to the discovery and collection of the Mss., such as they can get at, of works of old writers of their peninsula. Though old places of Jain pilgrimage, such as the Shatrunjaya and Junagadh hills, and towns like Talāja are situated in Kathiawad, most of the Mss. found in the province are non-Jain.

Results of Experience.

80. To conclude, the ball is still rolling. Our young men are very interested in this branch of learning, and they do not shirk the trouble involved in the procuring and reading of old Mss. as was done in the beginning, when no one understood their value. They have also learned to discriminate, as the result of experience, between valuable and valueless finds. In the old days, as now, all that was put on paper was not of value; rubbish existed side by side with the good. Some years ago a sort of halo surrounded all old Mss; they were considered valuable merely by virtue of their age. That idea has disappeared now, and each find is estimated at its proper value. We are advancing, and so far no check is in sight.

LECTURE IV.

RESEARCH 'IN HISTORY OF GUJARAT.

Historical Research.

81. Ample material exists in the shape of copper-plate grants, coins, inscriptions in stone, Sanads; Parwānās, Hasab ul Hukums, Firmāns and deeds, written either in Sanskrit, Gujarati—old and modern—or Persian, for the student of research in history, both in Gujarat and Kathiawad, though there is more in the peninsula than in Gujarat proper. Men like Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji, Shastri Vrajlal Kālidās, Dr. Bhau Daji, Vallabhji Āchārya, and Ratiram Durgaram have not failed to avail themselves of the opportunities afforded. Amongst Englishmen A. K. Forbes, Colonel Watson and Rev. Taylor have shown great interest in the subject, and the labours of others like Fleet, Kielhorn, Bühler, Haug, Peterson, the Bhandarkars and others occupied with all-India research have also indirectly been helpful, wherever their discoveries related to the history of the dynasties that ruled over old Gujarat.

Making of Rās Māla.

82. In this field too it was Mr. Forbes who set about, for his own satisfaction, collecting materials for a history of Gujarat, more than eighty years ago, and the result was a history of the province, "Rās Mālā," unique both from the chronicler's and the archaeologist's point of view. It was written, of

course, in English, and did for Gujarat what Tod had done for Rajputana. It was later translated into Gujarati.

83. These materials were collected by Mr. Forbes while touring in Gujarat and Kathiawad in the company of Kavi Dalpatram Dāhyābhai. Wherever he found it was not possible to take them away, either because, as in the case of Mss., or writings, the owner would not part with them, or, as in the case of stone or other inscriptions embedded in buildings, the removal would have injured them, he took care to have copies or rubbings made. In this way he came by a very large quantity of suitable material. But besides this written material (ग्रन्थ), there was more than enough oral material in the shape of the chronicles preserved in the families of the Bhāts and Chāraṇs, who had committed them to memory from generation to generation (कंठस्थ). They were made to repeat them, and what they narrated was put in writing. Part of this collection remained in the custody of the Forbes Gujarati Sabha of Bombay (founded in A. D. 1865), and part in the custody of the Gujarat Vernacular Society of Ahmedabad (founded in A. D. 1848). A detailed catalogue of the materials deposited with the Forbes Gujarati Sabha has been printed and published in two parts, and the Gujarat Vernacular Society has also published a list of the works that came into its possession.

84. Part of the materials utilised by Forbes in his "Rās Mālā" remained unpublished in Gujarati for

many years, though his collaborator, Kavi Dalpatram, had already put them in book form. The Gujarat Vernacular Society, however, instead of publishing it, requested the Forbes Gujarati Sabha of Bombay to do so, and the book has recently been published under the title of “ગુજરાતના કેટલાક ઇતિહાસિક પ્રસંગો અને વાર્તાઓ.”

Recent Publications.

85. The Forbes Gujarati Sabha has been taking active steps to make the materials in its possession available to the public. Mr. Ranjitram Vāvābhai, whose most useful career was cut off in a drowning tragedy at Juhu when he was in the prime of life, had, while he was in Kathiawad, following the lines of Forbes, Dalpatram and Harilal H. Dhruva, collected a large number of copies of stone and copper-plate inscriptions and other materials which were likely to prove useful to students of historical research. The whole collection was preserved by the Sabha, and it has now been published under the title “Historical Inscriptions of Gujarat.” So far only the period from ancient times (the times of Ashoka) to the end of the Vāghelā dynasty has been treated; for the subsequent period another volume is being prepared. The Curator of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, Mr. G. V. Āchārya, B. A., the worthy son of a worthy father, Vallabhji Āchārya, has very ably edited them, and his introductory notes are full of instruction and interest.

86. The materials lying with the Sabha were sifted and those which appeared to be likely to have

some bearing on the history of Gujarat were arranged and brought out in two parts under the name of “ગુજરાતનાં ઇતિહાસિક સાધનો.” They contain information about several forts and fortresses of Gujarat, its towns and cities, and some dynastic trees.

“Ratnamāl.”

• 87. “Ratnamāl,” though written in Hindi, because its author, Krishnaji was a Bārot, and Bārots mostly compose works in Hindi, is a valuable document for the elucidation of the history of old Gujarat, that is, the times of the Chāvdās, beginning with Jayashekhar. Merutungāchārya’s “Prabandh Chintāmanī” and Rajshekhar Suri’s “Chatur Vinshati Prabandh” are being made available to Gujarati readers both as corrected Sanskrit text and translation. The late Diwan Bahadur Ranchhodbhai Udayaram, who translated the “Rās Mālā” into Gujarati, made his own independent collection of historical materials. As it is very voluminous and rather promiscuous in character, arrangements have been made to sort out the useful matter and publish it as a supplement to the main work “Rās Mālā.”

Local Museums.

88. Though there are not enough museums for the preservation of these rare materials in the province, some of the towns of Kathiawad have been able to establish them, and, thanks to the munificence of the Rulers concerned, they are fulfilling the object of their foundation. The museums at Rajkot,

Junagadh, Bhavnagar and Valā reflect much credit on their founders. The Baroda Museum and the Prince of Wales Museum of Bombay also have important copper-plates and inscriptions. All of them furnish handy and convenient places where the student of research can work.

Exploration Tours.

89. The Bhavnagar State, even at a very early period, realised the importance of research work, and set up an independent department called the Department for an Archæological and Antiquarian Survey—the first of its kind in Kathiawad (A. D. 1881) under the control of Vajeshankar Gavrishankar. H. H. the then Maharaja Sir Takhta Sinhji “felt the need for an organized agency to collect materials for the past history of Bhavnagar, which would throw some light on the probable date when the Gohel chiefs of the State first entered Saurāshtra and the tract of the province over which they held sway.” To secure this end, the State sent out “Pundits” on tours of exploration in different parts of Kathiawad, from Gogo in the East to Dwārkā in the West, and from Div in the South to Khedgadh, Badmer and Udaypur in Mewād in the North, in fact “to any place which held out hopes for a good collection of coins, stone and copper-plate inscriptions and other archæological remains illustrative” of the past history and condition of Bhavnagar and of the power and relations of the “Gohel chiefs.” The

result of four years' working was "the accumulation of a pretty extensive stock of old and (some of them) unique coins, and *facsimiles* of stone and copper-plate inscriptions, relating not only to the Gohel chiefs of the past, but to other Rulers and places. The collection comprises, among other things, *prasastis* and coins belonging to the period of the Sah and Gupta dynasties." Prefatory Notice Part I, भावनगर प्राचीन शोधसंग्रह. (A. D. 1885).

Kathiawad Collection.

90. This part contains a selection of the inscriptions. The plan followed has been first to give an account of each *prasasti* or inscription, then to append to it a *facsimile* of the original and finally to follow it up by its Sanskrit transcript and translations into Gujarati and English with explanatory footnotes. The first inscription is of Vikrama Samvat year 1202 (A. D. 1146), found on a stepwell (बाव) called Sodhadi Wāṛa near Māngrol. It grants the income derived from certain customs dues on goods exported and imported for the maintenance of a Mahādev temple. The grant is made by a certain Muluk Gohel, a Nāyak of Saurāshtra. There are earlier inscriptions also, from Udaypur, of Samvat year 1110 (A. D. 954). An appendix at the end gives a detailed list of inscriptions found in Mewad, Marwad. Bhavnagar State, Gohilwad Prant, Gogo, Sorath Prant, Jhālāvad Prant, Gujarat, Jasdan, Amreli, Hālār Prant, Babariāvād, Bardā, Porbandar and Okhā. They number in all 196. In addition to these there

are 51 Persian inscriptions also housed in the Department. Part I represents only a section of the work. The work of this Department has been mentioned here by way of example, and as a guide to those other States which have not yet made any move in this direction. The way was long ago thrown open to those who have the energy, the intelligence, the taste and the funds required for the purpose.

Stories in Stone.

91. The short notes of contents of each Persian and Arabic inscription given in the Appendix are very useful. The earliest inscription is dated A. H. 591; it is written in Arabic and was found at Gogo. It is an epitaph recording the death of one Bāvā Tājuddīn Badruddīn, who is said to have gone to live in the Abode of Eternity from the Abode of Destruction (Death). Loliānā is a place in Gohilwād which must have achieved great importance, as it is several times referred to in the "Mirat-e-Ahmadi." There are two Persian inscriptions (A. H. 729 and 760) recording the building of two mosques at that place. Gogo as a seaport had assumed great importance, and accordingly we find its seafaring men (tindals) and its merchants (सोदागर) endowing it with mosques. The Persian inscriptions found at Prabhāspātan, the earliest of which is dated 720 A. H., tells the same tale—the founding of a mosque by Ahmad Tughlak Shah through the Governor of the place. Later inscriptions show the steps taken by the Imperial officers to remove the oppression of the

subjects at the hands of petty local officers. The fort of Māngrol was, it seems, built in A. H. 700 by Malik Shaikh bin Taj, the Nāyab of the Suba of Sorath Prant. The several inscriptions secured at Prabhāspātan and at Māngrol, when read together, throw a good deal of light on the political and social history of the towns. One inscription records that the Hindus at Prabhāspātan were oppressing the Mohammadans, and that Abul Muzaffar Ahmad Shah bin Mohammad Shah bin Ahmad Shah bin Mohammad Shah bin Muzaffar Shah had to set the whole matter right. Another inscription (No. 38) records a similar oppression—but this time of Hindus by Muslims. The Mahājans of Māngrol and Chhorwād complained to Prince Fatehkhān, who was leading an expedition to conquer Gīrnār, in the reign of Sultan Ahmad Shah, of laws having been passed against them, contrary to the Shariat, and we read of his orders to stop their enforcement.

Research work has certainly been turned to good account here.

Parsi "Death Registers."

92. The late Dr. Sir Jivanji Modi was an indefatigable worker in the field of research. One cannot say that all his conclusions were correct, nor all his theories sound, but this should not be allowed to detract from the value of the work done by him. The assiduity with which he pursued his quest was typical of the man, and may well furnish a model to those in Gujarat who desire to

LECTURE IV.

enter this field. I should like to give two instances of his work. The first is a paper called the "Diṣā Pothi (Family Death Register) among the Parsis," which he read at the Second Oriental Conference held at Calcutta in 1923. Every Parsi household is supposed to keep such a book, in which are recorded the dates of the deaths which occur in the family. The object is to remind the family of the anniversary days, on which ceremonies for the peace of the soul of the departed ones have to be performed. Whether the householder keeps it or not the family priest is bound to do so, as it is he who has to be in charge of the ceremonies. There being many priests, and they in their turn having many families to attend to, the members of this sacerdotal class have arranged for the division of their charges into groups. For this purpose they have to keep a common register, which thus furnishes a record for the whole community. These books are utilized by Parsi laymen for various purposes. They get the priests to invoke the names of all the deceased persons of their family on the occasion of the observation of the death anniversaries, believing that thereby they earn religious merit. Still more religiously minded people go further and get the priest to invoke the names of all the dead of the street or quarter in which they live, irrespective of the dates of their death. These 'Pothis,' therefore, are incidentally a repository of much historical information. Sir Jivanji was able to get a Disa Pothi of that well-known stronghold of Parsi priest-

hood at Navsari, called Malesar (Faliā) quarter. It was prepared first in Samvat year 1782 (A. D. 1726).

Battle of Variāv.

Now in the early history of the Parsis, there is said to have taken place a sad event called Jang-e-Variāv, the battle of Variāv. The story runs that the Raja of Ratanpur was so enraged with the Parsis for not paying him tribute that he sent troops to enforce his order. The men were absent from the village at the time, but the women, dressed as men, fought valiantly against the troops. Just when they had almost succeeded in routing the enemy, the head-piece of one of the women fell off and disclosed her long hair. The troops thereupon rallied, and the women, fearing dishonour, threw themselves into the river Tapti, on the banks of which the village is situated. This is also known as the massacre of Variāv. The day was the 25th day of the 1st or Farvardin month. As the exact year was not known some people considered the event to be mythical. But an entry in this "Disa Pothi," opposite the 1st day and the 1st month, with the words वरीआवा शमश (समस्त) तेनो रोजगार *i. e.*, anniversary day of all the Behedins of Variāv, confirms the fact of the event having taken place. The year shown there, Samvat 1676 (A. D. 1619), seems to be apocryphal. But in this lecture we are not concerned with the year. We have to note the fact that Sir Jivanji's research succeeded in throwing light on an event which had till then been taken to be a

myth. By the aid of such "Disā Pothis" he worked out the date of another important event in the history of Parsi settlement in Gujarat, the removal from Vānsdā to Navsari of the Sacred Fire of Iran Shah.

Rustom Manock.

93. The other example of his work is given in a paper that he wrote on Rustom Manock (A. D., 1635-1721), a broker of the English East India Company (A.D. 1699), and the Persian Qisseh (History) of Rustom Manock, which he calls a study. It consists of nearly 180 pages, and sifts the material bearing on the subject, collected from every nook and corner, from every point of view. This account, too, is very interesting and important to the historian of the Parsi community.

"Studies in Parsi History."

94. Principal S. H. Hodivālā's "Studies in Parsi History" is another typical example of how well Parsis have acquitted themselves in the field of research. Though part of his research work, like that of other Parsi scholars such as the late Dr. Sir J. J. Modi, is mainly concerned with their religious practices and books and temples, the community has lived so long in Gujarat that references to local matters cannot be altogether avoided. Hence even in the treatment of such exclusively communal subjects as the disputed existence of a Parsi Fire temple at Broach in 324 A. Y., or of the colophons of Mihrapān Kai Khusru, references to documents,

written in Sanskrit or Gujarati, could not be passed over. For example, a postscript written by Mihrapān Kai Khusru, in Samvat year 1377, in indifferent Sanskrit, which he cites, is useful in showing how completely Parsis had identified themselves with Hindu culture; although their copying of books was done in the language of their former motherland, they still had to adopt the custom of their Hindu countrymen and write certain important particulars in the language of the cultured Hindu, Sanskrit. Take again the deed of mortgage written in Gujarati in Samvat year 1588 (A. D. 1532.) Its grammar, its spelling, and its archaic turns of expression are bound to prove of interest, to the palæographer. Navsari is still described therein by its old name of Nāgmandal. A number of these archaic deeds, which come up to Samvat year 1667 (A. D. 1611) and cover a period of nearly 100 years, are considered by him from the point of view of the antiquarian. They show the gradual progress towards modernity which the language was making. In tracing the history of the famous Zoroastrian physician of Navsari, Mehervaid, who is said to have cured one of the ladies of Emperor Akbar's harem and to have been rewarded with a Jāgir, he has referred to certain Persian documents (sale deeds) dating from (A. D. 1517.) The way in which he came by these papers is interesting. By chance he heard that a Parsi of Navsari had a bundle of Persian and Gujarati documents in his possession. On examination he found that the bundle contained the oldest original papers

relating to the forefathers of the Parsis in existence. Had he not made inquiries, the papers would have met with the same fate as others of their kind and been lost for ever. The documents, both Persian and Gujarati, have been published by him in the original, and they give an idea of the mode of writing Gujarati characters at the time in which they were written. In fact the whole volume "Studies in Parsi History" is like a beacon, throwing light on many hitherto shrouded incidents in the history of the Parsis and of the towns and villages in which they lived, prior to their concentration first in Surat and afterwards in Bombay.

Copper-plate History.

95. The Sāhitya Parishad Secretaries at Surat did not rest content with holding an exhibition of the old Mss. collected by them; they collected also a respectable number of copper-plate and stone inscriptions. The oldest of the copper-plate ones, dated Shāk Samvat year 996 and Vikram Samvat year 1131, had never been noticed before. Navsari, which is described in the document referred to above, of Samvat year 1588, as Nāgmandal, is called here Nāgsārika; it establishes the historical facts that Navsari, as far as its southern limits, was known as Lātdesh; that the country was divided into groups of six villages each; that that part of the country had by then already been included in the sovereignty of Pātan; that Dhamdāchha, Kachholi, Amalsād and other villages round about are more

than a thousand years old and were then prosperous; that there were old families of Modh Brahmins living there who were much respected; that Brahmins were known not by their caste but by their Gotra; that the branch of the Chaulukya Chandraraja of Lāt was in existence then; and that Vikrama Samvat Era was current in the north of the Narmadā and Shak Era in the south.

96. A still earlier one, that of Shake year 940, which was also exhibited, had already been published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

97. The "Tāmrāpatra" of Rashtrakut Kakkaraj of Shak Samvat year, 678, which was also published in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (A. D. 1883), was a feature of the exhibition, being the oldest inscription on view.

Sheth Purushottam Vishram Mavji.

98. The late Bhatia merchant, Sheth Purushottam Vishram Mavji took great delight in research, and although he concentrated chiefly on Shivaji and Maratha history, he was able to collect relics from Gujarat itself and from outside Gujarat bearing on Gujarati history and the domestic and social life of the province. His bungalow looked like a museum, for he spared neither money nor energy in satisfying the somewhat expensive taste he had acquired for getting together 'Mss., pictures, jewellery, dresses, decorative pieces, fossils, coins, inscriptions and anything else that threw light on old and ancient

history. A reverse in fortune once compelled him to part with his valued treasures, but as soon as he could look up again, he again set about collecting these rare objects. This he did till he died, by which time he had once more got together a respectable collection. Indeed, no Hindu on this side of India has indulged in the pursuit of this hobby as sincerely and fervently and thoroughly as he did. No one has yet followed in his footsteps.

Local Histories.

99. Many local histories of towns have been made possible as a result of this research. Mr. Chandulal Munshi, a relation of Mr. Kanaïyālal Munshi, is labouring to write a detailed history of Broach, hoping to rival his predecessors in the same field. The able treatise on Ahmedabad written by Ratnamanirao Bhimrao is a monument of research work. He has tried his hand on Cambay also. Surat too possesses her own chronicles, written in Persian. For instance, that of Munshi Abdul Hakim Bakshu Mian's "Hadike-ul-Hind" contains important material for the History of Surat. The Persian Ms. No. 10 in the library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, containing an account of the Suba of Gujarat, consists of one section only; the whole book is a large volume, and is at present kept in the Ismail College at Andheri. The account of the province of Gujarat contains 20 sections, and deals with Idar, Jhālāwād, Nawānagar, Cutch, Dungarpur, Rajpipla, Sirohi and many other Native States, includ-

ing' Cambay. The Nāzims of Broach and the Parsis have a section to themselves ; so has Surat. A short account of Nadiad by Mr. Ambalal B. Jani and of Modāsā by Manubhai Jodhani, are samples of what can be done by those who take a genuine interest in work of this sort.

Spirit of Research.

100. The spirit of research shown by the late Chimanlal Dalal has been kept alive by a number of Gujarati students, Ramlal Chunilal Modi of Pātan, Jagjivan N. Badhekā and Mānshankar Pitāmbardas of Bhavnagar, and Shastri Keshavram of Māngrol, who are also interested in old inscriptions. The sound work of the first named student is well known. Badhekā and Shastri Keshavram are also at work, and many very old Dānpatras, deeds of gift, executed as far back as Samvat years 1360 and 1380, in Kathiawad, are being brought out as the result of their research. The spirit is abroad, and it promises to result in more and more interesting work being done from day to day.

Numismatics.

101. "Coins afford an invaluable aid to the researches of the historian in every period" (Vincent A. Smith), and numismatics has therefore of late been assuming some importance in the eyes of Gujarati students. Dr. Bhagvānlal Indraji and Vallabhji H. Āchārya very early realized the value of this important study in ascertaining the history of

a period or province. Unfortunately, however, they found few followers, particularly because the deciphering of coins entailed much trouble and required special knowledge, and also because the opportunities afforded to inspect them were few. This deplorable state of affairs was noticed by that great lover of Gujarat, the Rev. George P. Taylor of Ahmedabad. Writing in A.D. 1899 and repeating the same sentiments ten years later in A. D. 1909: he said "If I get an old coin, with the inscription slightly rubbed out or worn out, and if I want some one to decipher the words, I do not know of any scholar in Gujarat to whom I can send it for that purpose" (vide his Paper on Pre-Mahomedan Coins of Gujarat at the Rajkot Sāhitya Parishad). He appeals in very feeling terms to the young men of Gujarat to study the science. The various museums in Kathiawad, Gujarat and Bombay contain large collections of coins. Whenever coins are found, Government send them under the Treasure Trove Act and otherwise to the Museum of the Royal Asiatic Society at Bombay. This numismatic collection has now been catalogued and is kept as a loan collection in the Prince of Wales Museum, where experts—one of them the son of the late Achārya Vallabhji and the other Mr. Ranchhodlal Gyāni—are more likely to make use of them.

Gazetteers.

101 (a.) Excellent Gazetteers of the various districts in Gujarat have been brought out by Mr. Campbell, I.C.S., with the assistance of many Gujarati scholars. They are now nearly half a

century old. New materials, now available call both for modification and revision of their contents. When better times come, this should be the first objective of Government.

Future of Research.

102. In conclusion, it may be seen from these descriptions of workers and of the work they have done that the 'research conscience' of the Gujaratis has been aroused, and that they are alive to the great possibilities of the subject and are accordingly putting their shoulders to the wheel. The work so far done is but a drop in the ocean, but the fact remains that where before there was not even that drop, it has now come into existence. There is promise of more creditable and satisfactory work forthcoming. A change has come over the way in which old materials, such as inscriptions, deeds, and coins, were once viewed. It is now recognised that they have potential historical value, and that that value has to be exploited. This in itself is a promising feature.

LECTURE V.

MISCELLANEOUS.

- (a) Humour and Satire.
- (b) Influence of Persian on Gujarati Literature,
- (c) Influence of Urdu on Gujarati Literature.
- (d) Account of Kathiawad as found in Persian histories, especially Tārīkh-e-Sorath.
- (e) Accounts of Cambay, Surat, Ahmedabad, in histories, Persian and non-Persian.

Miscellaneous.

[Odds & Ends] : पांच धान्यनी खीचडी.

103. In bringing this series to a close I will refer to a few miscellaneous items which, though not of great importance, have contributed their quota to the present state of Gujarati Literature.

Humour.

104. Gujaratis, that is, Hindus, are by nature serious minded people : they are not much inclined towards the lighter side of life, though they are not actually morose. Premānand, almost alone among the older Gujarati poets, succeeded in depicting humour. Thereafter there was a hiatus, until we come to writers like Sir Ramanbhai Nilkanthi (A. D. 1868-1928) and a modern Parsi writer here and there. Writing in a humorous vein on persons and things

one thing ; producing pictorial sketches dealing with a political or social subject, or pictures in which peculiarities of persons are so exaggerated as to appear grotesque or ridiculous, is another thing. Caricature both in words and in pictures is a comparatively new departure, and came into existence solely as a result of the study of that subject in English literature.

the "Hindi Punch."

Parsis were the first journalists to take to it. The "Hindi Punch", which ceased publication a few years ago with the death of its able editor, Mr. Pakhtyār, was modelled on the English "Punch." For years together, week after week it continued to provide mirth and delight to Gujarati readers. Current social and political events were represented pictorially in suitable fashion with fitting captions, and the void left by its disappearance has not been filled. The management had to be carried on under great difficulties, and, of course, at a loss. It was most difficult to get the illiterate artisan, the block maker—and the majority of block makers are illiterate—to follow the trend of the event and the implication of the subject he was called upon to represent. If by chance you came across such an artisan, he would charge his own price. The publication therefore could not be run so cheaply as to put it within the reach even of the middle classes, and hence could not become popular. The serious bent of mind of the people in

general provided an additional handicap. It is not surprising, therefore, that no one came forward to carry on the weekly after Mr. Āpakhtyār's death. It appears that people are not yet ready to appreciate this sort of literature to a great extent. Cartoonists and drawers of caricatures are springing up of late, though not in large numbers, and Gujarati magazines and journals now and then try to make their pages more attractive by publishing their productions. Those who have elected to pursue this line of pictorial art are on the whole doing well, and it appears that, as they do receive some little encouragement, they are not likely to abandon it. There is a future for this art, and it should attract more and more workers.

Persian Elements.

105. The Musalmans who occupied Gujarat for more than 600 years brought with them, whatever the dialect used by the different tribes amongst whom they settled, the cultured language they used on all important occasions, namely, Persian. Has this language in any way affected Gujarati language and literature? What influence has Persian exerted on the language of the province? From the earliest times, even before Alauddin invaded Gujarat (Samvat year 1356: A. D. 1297), Hindus were coming into contact with Mohammadans, who had settled for purposes of trade in such large cities as Ahmedabad and Cambay. But at that time they were a subject, not a ruling, race.

Loan Words.

As far back as Samvat year 1320 (vide an inscription in the Harsiddh Mātā's temple at Verāval) Persian words and not their Sanskrit equivalents were being used in Gujarati. It is true that usually they were purely descriptive, either of a person or a building. For instance here in this inscription the man who had a mosque built in Prabhās Pātan was described as Nākhoda Piroj and the building as a Masjid; it was possible to describe them in the current language or vernacular of the period, but the words must have been so widely used by people that they saw nothing wrong in keeping them in their original form, instead of using their vernacular equivalents. A parallel instance is that of the Railway Station, which everybody now speaks of as a ટેસન or इसटेशन instead of translating it into current Gujarati. As time went on more and more words were adopted, and finally they became so familiar that even classical poets like Narasinh Mehta, Mirābai and Premānand saw no harm in using them. Nor have the Jain poets shunned them; they are found in large numbers in the Rāsās. Military terms and words relating to different parts of fortifications specially were amalgamated in the language, because, with the wane of Hindu power, their weapons and the mode of their fortifications also began to go out of fashion, and those of their conquerors replaced them. Padma Nābh's poem "Kahānad de Prabandha" (Samvat year 1512) is a case in point.

Principal Hodivālā has published, in his "Studies in Parsi History," a large number of documents executed in Samvat year 1588 and thereafter upto 1633 and even later. The parties to them are all Parsis. If Persian had exerted great influence over Gujarati one would have expected to find that influence revealed in these documents, but excepting such legal terms as Asalkhat (the original deed), asbāb (goods), sābit (confirmed), Dāwā (a claim), taslim (handing over possession), the words are all Gujarati words in use at the time. There are even letters selected from private correspondence or from those addressed to Parsis living abroad, on religious matters, in which there is but a slight admixture of Persian words. A letter from the Anjuman of Naṽsari written so late as the Samvat year 1797 (A. D. 1740) to the laymen at Div contains only such conventional words as Nekkām, Dindost, Doulat Ziyādat, Āfrin, Meherbāni, Khāngi. Numerically it shows an advance as compared to the earlier documents of two hundred years ago; there are many more words of Persian origin in these letters than there were then. That is accounted for by the fact that Musalman rule had become older by two hundred years, and the contact of the people with Musalmans had proportionately increased. For literary purposes, however, extensive use of Persian words was resorted to by Parsis. Poems like "Zarthost Nāmeh" and "Siāva(k)sh Nāmeh," both written by the Parsi poet Ervad Rustām Peshōtan at Surat in Samvat years 1731 and 1736 (A. D. 1676 and 1680), are cases in point, and later writers, right up

to the modern period, have continued to draw freely upon Persian words and style. Mansukh's "Ganj Nāmeḥ" (A. D. 1855) shows how obsessed Parsi writers had become with the influence of Persian. In more recent times English has displaced Persian; Parsis, in particular have fallen under the spell of that language, and have almost completely abandoned Persian.

Hindu writers had no traditions to follow so far as Persian was concerned, inasmuch as they had no ties with Persia, as the Parsis had. They had no difficulty therefore in resisting Persian influence, which has affected neither the mode or style of their writings nor outlook on life. It is said that Premānand ordered Virji to write poems in Urdu and Persian, but it is very uncertain what he did in that direction. Except for the incorporation of several words of Persian which had become rooted in the language, Hindus remained uninfluenced by that language and its literature.

Court Language.

But in another direction it was not possible to ignore the language. The language was the language of the Rulers. Politically it was the only language recognised. It had become the Court language, so that whoever aspired to state service or royal favour or political advancement had of necessity to study it, and the result was that in every town and city there grew up a class of Hindus, Brahmins, Banias and Kāyasths who spoke and wrote Persian.

as well as those whose mother tongue it was. In North India there were large numbers of Hindus who had become experts in Persian, but Gujarat was not behind-hand. Cultured Parsis of course knew it as well as Gujarati, but the Nāgars and the Kāyasths, members of the higher classes of Hindus, also took to the study of Persian and rose to high posts, such as Peshkārs and Bakshis, in the service of their Rulers. Kāyasths of Surat wrote Kasidas (eulogistic poems) in Persian, and sent them for favour of Imperial acceptance to Delhi. One Nāgar Brahmin of Surat was so enamoured of Persian that he used to recite his संध्या (evening prayers) in that language.* But the net effect of this culture was only that those who knew Persian, instead of enriching their own language, tried to enrich their adopted language with borrowings from the vernacular, so that the main stream of Gujarati literature continued to flow on unaffected, in its own slow, sluggish way.

This resistance to an external influence stands out in glaring contrast to what has happened under the present regime. Under British rule, our language and literature, our prose and poetry have all undergone a change; on the whole they have become more robust and virile, and "because of that we read the poetry and prose of Narasinhrao and Nānāl, Kānt

* Malabari in his description of Surat laments the disappearance of the study of Gujarati at the expense of Persian. गुजरातीनु नाम मळे नहिं, करे फारसीमां लवारी. मलबारीनां काव्य रत्नो, p. 8L.

and Khabardār in Gujarati, which otherwise we would have had to read in Persian or Urdu.” This is what Mr. J. E. Sanjana, one of our best Parsi scholars, has to say—and rightly—in his valuable essay on “Present Gujarati Literature” (P. 244, Gujarati Sāhitya Parishad Mandal Patrikā, Vol. I, Number 2, 1st July 1927.)

106. What is true for Persian applies partly to Urdu too. Urdu, though it has not made any appreciable impression on Gujarati literature itself has, however, attracted many Gujaratis—specially Muslims—to study it. But the regular study of a foreign language does not necessarily mean subjection to its influence. On the other hand the masses may not regularly study the language and still come under its influence, even though their literature remains unaffected by it. This is what has happened in the case of Urdu, or rather Urdu of a sort. Two and a half to three generations ago, the peculiar branch of poetry known as लावणी, ख्याल and टप्पा was very much affected by the Gujarati speaking masses. It had its origin in North India. Hindus, Parsis and Muslims were all votaries of this species of song recital, and many were the Akhādās (contests) held where *Ustād* after *Ustād* was put on his mettle to display his superiority in the composition and recital of लावणी ख्याल and टप्पा. Malabari was nurtured on it,* Surat and Navsari and many other places in Gujarat entertained these singers,

* See उपोद्घात p. 13 of मलबारीनां काव्य रत्नों and these lines at page 80:— ख्याल अखाडा रोज रातना, कलगी तोरा ने कुस्ती.

and their Jalsās were no uncommon event in those days. They drew crowded audiences, and sometimes, when they took sides and favoured one declaimer against another, breaches of the peace occurred and heads were broken.

The Gazals.

Urdu literature as literature has not influenced Gujarati at all, except in one respect: the Gazal form of lyric, which has now found a permanent place in Gujarati literature, came into existence through it. A score of Muslim writers wrote Gazals both in Urdu and Rekhta.* A collection of such poems, called the "Makhzan-us-Shoārā," has been made by a Muslim writer of Broach, and excepting for a couple of Hindu names, all the Gazal writers are Muslims. There is a Ms. copy of it in the library of our University.† A word about these Gazals, inspired by the study of Urdu, and also of Persian poets. Attempts to compose Gazals in Gujarati cannot meet with success; the genius of our language is not adapted to it, and the bulk of Gujarati Gazal literature, excepting work like that of Bālāshankar, is but a feeble imitation of Persian and Urdu poetry. It is a body without a soul. This is the result of superficial and second-hand study of the subject of Sufism, and the difficulty of bending the

* A sort of language formed of Persian and Hindustani mixed.

† Now published by Qazi Nuruddin Hussain Khan Rezvi, Jamia Press, Delhi.

language to express sentiments and practices alien to it.* I should like once more to invite attention to the observations of Mr. Sanjana,† a first rate Persian scholar, on this part of our literature. In essentials, therefore, one may say that our literature has not been influenced by Urdu. Recently a band of Muslim youths have girded up their loins to give the benefit of their Urdu learning to Gujarat; they may be able to do so, particularly as they are intelligent students of both languages.

107. Scribes—copyists—in Gujarat had necessarily to study Persian, and here too we find a number of Hindu copyists working side by side with Muslim copyists and calligraphists. The Ms. copy of the “Mirat-e-Ahmadi” in the University library is written by a Vaishnav Nāgar of Junagadh; similarly the Kāyasths of Surat furnished a large contingent of such scribes. Some of them were of a literary turn of mind and wrote good poetry, much of which is lost now. Many of these scribes (Khatnavis) were Khushnavis, that is, good calligraphists. In addition to being copyists, Khatnavises also practised the profession of petition and letter writing.

Half-baked study, mere smattering of the language, picking up key words like lover, beloved, rose and nightingale, and working them into verses, has resulted in ludicrous exhibition4.

† Gujarati Sāhitya Parishad Mandal Patrikā, Vol. I, Number 2, Page 250 dated 1st July 1927.

Kathiawad.

108. One sometimes comes across Muslim inhabitants of Gujarat writing the history of their provinces: the authors, for instance, of both the "Mirats"—the "Mirat-e-Sikandari" and the "Mirat-e-Ahmadi." Hindus, however, rarely took to writing history; when they did it was in Persian. However, the situation is relieved by two writers, both of them Nāgars. "Fatuhāt-e-Ālamgiri" is the handiwork of Shridas, a Nāgar Brahmin of Ahmedabad, who was in Government service there. It was written in A. D. 1731 and copied out in Pātan, eighteen years later. He was seventy-six years old when he finished this book. Diwan Ranchhodji Amarji, another well-known Nāgar Brahmin of Junagadh, wrote the "Tārikh-e-Sorath wa Hālār" in Persian. It is a comparatively recent book (A. D. 1825), but it contains a number of incidents and events which the writer had personally witnessed or in which he had taken part. The same was true of the writer of the "Mirat-e-Ahmadi." "Tārikh-e-Sorath" seems to have been modelled on Mirat, but the latter is by far the better work. The author of the Mirat carefully kept the historical part separate from the topographical and descriptive part, which entirely takes up the Khātima or supplement. In the "Tārikh-e-Sorath" both are mixed up, which causes confusion. The "Tārikh" has, however, its own special features. One of the Mss. in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society begins not with the usual formula of the Muslims "Bismilla

ur Rehman ur Rahim," but with an invocation to the Hindu God, "Baname Shankar Jagannath," and the copy of which Mr. Burgess published the translation made by Rehatsek, "Baname Shankar Jagatpati." Another Ms. copy, however, in the same library, begins with the Mohammadan formula. The reason given by the author for writing a provincial history when he could have written that of the whole of India was, in his own words, a feeling of patriotism, love for his own province. Besides, he says, there were many histories of India, and writing another one would merely have meant covering the same ground, which did not appeal to him.

Cambay-Bohras and Parsis. '

109. I intend to wind up these sundry jottings with a few facts about the three big cities of Gujarat in Mohammadan and pre-Mohammadan times; Ahmedabad, Surat and Cambay. To take Cambay first. In Siddharaj Jayasinh's times it was a flourishing sea port, where many Mohammadan traders had settled. An Arabic manuscript in the Library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society relating to the Bohra community recites the legend of the Mohammadan missionary Mowlana Abdulla, who converted him to Islam at Cambay. I have discussed this legend elsewhere.* Kavi Dalpatram also gives interesting details about this legendary conversion of Siddharaj in his गुजरातना फेटलाएक ऐतिहासिक प्रसंगो published by

* Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, New Series 1933, Vol. 9, Nos. 1 and 2.

the Forbes Gujarati Sabha. It gives certain dates of the successors of the original missionary. According to this story one Joaib (? Shoaib) sent his two pupils, Mulla Abdulla and Mulla Ahmad, into Gujarat. They were originally Brahmin boys. Balamnath and Raghunath, kidnapped in childhood by Arabs sent by Shoaib. A reference is made to a book written by one Khoja bin Mālam in Kapadwanj, where these facts are put down.

Parsis also settled in Cambay, one of whom, a "Vora," or trader, amassed a considerable fortune, as at that time it was an extremely prosperous port. It is one of the oldest Parsi settlements in Gujarat. Principal Hodivālā in his "Studies of Parsi History" gives a very interesting account (p. 127) of how they came from the south of Gujarat to a place near the temple of Kumarikā Kshetra at the south of the Mahi, which would not be far from Cambay, and, succeeding in trade, became so strong that they forced the Hindus to leave the city. One Parsi, Chahil Atar by name, seems to have grown rich there in that century. It was he who sent for Meherban (Mihrapān) KaiKhusru—to whom I have referred in a previous lecture—to copy Pahalvi Text—in Samvat year 1377 (A. D. 1321).

The surname^a Khambhātās amongst Parsis connects them with Cambay.

Lieut. Robertson, in his "Historical^u Narration of the City of Cambay from Sanskrit and Persian Books and Oral Tradition," prepared in A. D. 1813,

says that the ancient name of Cambay was Kooarka Ksheshata (=Kumarikā Kshetra).^{*} The Parsis of Cambay continued to prosper at least till the 14th century. The Hindus later on, under the leadership of a Bania from Surat, returned with Rajputs and Kolis in the night, attacked the Parsis, putting many to the sword and setting fire to their houses. The rest took to flight, after which not a Parsi was to be seen in Cambay.

The "Hadike-ul-Hind" of Bakshu Mian records that Vikramajit was born here. The "Mirat-e-Ahmadi," in the second volume, accurately refers to the several localities in the city such as the lake of Naransar and the city gates as well as places and villages round about. In the Supplement (Khātimah) it is described as Tāmbā Nagari and a legend is given, to the effect that in former times at the village of Nagar, about a kos and a half from the port of Cambay, was situated a very large city whose walls were made of copper, known as Tāmbā Nagari. There is a wonderful and miraculous story told that sometimes when people used to dig a well there they used to bring up a brick of copper—proof that there was a city of copper there ! He does not vouch for the truth of the story, remarking that the responsibility is on the teller.

Some people consider the original name to be ब्रावटी; some to be स्थमतीर्थ of which खंवायत is a corruption.

^{*} Vide the Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute No. 25, 1933.

Ahmedabad and Surat.

Ahmedabad and its environs have been most minutely described in the Khātimah of the "Mirat-e-Ahmadi."

Surat has got Musalman and Hindu historians. The short history of Surat, सुरतनी मुखतेसर हकीकत written by Narmadāshankar Kavi, is recommended for those who want to get a working knowledge of the city. Whatever references are made to Surat, its situation on the river, its double walls for protection called the Shahr Panah and the fort, the Tapti floods, the Kothis (Factories) of the Europeans, the fortifications erected by the Merchant Prince Mulla Mohammad Ali, its Darwazas and its Killa, are all accurately set out in the "Mirat." That part of the "Hadike-ul-Hind" which refers to Surat gives more elaborate details than the "Mirat-e-Ahamadi" of what happened there during the troublous times just before the Maratha invasion and their ascendancy in Gujarat.

It is possible to say much more on this subject, but I have already exceeded my limit and must now bring this lecture to a close.

INDEX

(The numbers refer to pages.)

Abdul Muzaffar Ahmad Shah bin	
Mohammad Shah bin Muzaffar Shah ...	89
Acharya, G. V.	84
Acharya, Vallabhji	82, 84, 97
Ahmad Tughlak Shah	88
Ahmedabad	66, 70, 96, 100, 102
Akho	41, 76, 77
Alauddin	102
Amalsad	94
Amreli	87
Andheri	96
Andheri Nagarino Gardhavsan	55
Anjuman of Navsari	104
Anklesaria, B. T.	79
Anklesaria, T. D.	77, 78
Āpakhtyār	101, 102
Arda Viraf Name	80
Arnold, Matthew	48, 55
Assyrians	38
 Babariayad	 87
Babylonians	38
Badheka, Jagjivan	77, 81, 97
Badmer	86

II

B—(Contd.)

Badrinarayan	...	...	...	...	40
Baharam Sut Lakshmidhar	...	...	...	...	80
Bakshu Mian	...	...	...	...	96, 113
Balamnath	...	...	...	...	112
Balashankar	...	...	...	...	108
Bal Mandir	...	...	...	...	45
Barda	...	...	...	...	87
Baroda	...	...	...	...	44
Baroda Museum	...	...	...	...	86
Bava Tajuddin Badruddin	...	...	...	...	83
Bhagvanlal Indrajī, Dr.	...	...	...	...	82, 97
Bhagvata	...	...	...	...	19
Bhandarkar, Dr.	...	...	...	...	76
Bhandarkars	...	...	...	...	82
Bhasa	...	...	...	...	27
Bhāts	...	...	...	...	83
Bhau Daji, Dr.	...	...	...	...	82
Bhavai	...	...	...	...	26
Bhavbhuti	...	...	...	...	27
Bhavnagar	...	...	...	...	86, 87
Bible	...	...	...	...	42
Birbal	...	...	...	...	14
Bombay	...	...	...	...	14, 94
Botadkar	...	...	...	...	21
Brihat Kavya Dohan	...	...	...	...	69
Broach	...	...	...	...	77, 96, 97, 106
Buhler, Dr.	...	...	...	...	76, 82
Burgess	...	...	...	...	111
Burma	...	...	...	...	43

III

C.

Cambay	...	70, 96, 97, 100, 102, 111, 112, 113	
Campbell	...	...	98
Ceylon	...	...	40
Chahil Atar	...	...	112
Chalukya Chandraraj	...		95
Charans	...	...	83
Chattopadhyaya, Bankimchandra			35
Chatur Vinshati Prabandh			85
Chorwad	...	...	89
Contemporary Review	...		61
Corelli, Miss Marie	...		35, 36
Cutch	...	...	5, 96

D

Dadabhai Naoroji	...		14
Dahyabhai Dholshaji	...		32
Dakshinamurti Vidyarthi Bhavan			45
Dakshni Natak Mandli	...		28
Dalal, Chimanlal	...	71, 73, 74, 75, 76, 97	
Dalpatram	9, 10, 19, 31, 42, 69, 83, 84, 111		
Damanganga River			
Dayaram	...	8, 18, 19, 22, 41, 51, 69	
Dean Inge	...	...	40
Deesa	...	...	4
Delhi	...	...	106
Desai, Ichharam S.	...	...	69
Desai, Kanu	...	...	44
Desai, Mohanlal D.	...	...	6, 71

IV

D—(Contd.)

Desai, Natvarlal I.	...	...	...	77
Desai, S. M.	...	...	...	14
Dhamdachha	...	...	...	94
Dhruv, Prof. Anandshankar B.	...	41, 55, 58,	59	
Dhruv, Harilal H.	...	...	...	84
Dhruv, Diwan Bahadur Keshavlal	...	...	...	72
Disa Pothi	...	...	90, 91,	92
Div	...	...	...	86, 104
Divatia, N. B.	20, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 72,	106		
Diwan, Ranchhodji Amarji	...	...	...	110
Dungarpur	...	...	...	96
Durgaram Mehtaji	...	...	9, 12,	39
Dwarka	...	...	...	40, 86
Dwivedi, Manilal Nabhubhai.	13, 42, 55, 57, 58,	70		

E

East Africa	...	...	...	43
East India Company	...	...	8, 65,	92
England	...	...	...	46
Ervad Rustom Peshotan	...	...	...	104
Essay on Criticism	...	...	...	55

F

Fatehkhani, Prince	...	...	...	89
Fatuhah-e-Alamgiri	...	...	...	110
Fellowship School	...	...	...	45
Firdausi	...	...	...	18

F—(Contd.)

Fleet	...	...	...	...	82
Forbes, A. K.	...	...	...	66, 67, 82, 83, 84	
Forbes Gujarati Sabha	...	44, 67, 71, 83, 84, 112			

Gaekwar, H. H. The Maharaja	...	69, 70, 72		
Gandhi, Mahatma	...	...	16, 46	
Ganj Nameh	...	...	105	
Girnar	...	...	89	
"Gladstone"	...	...	39	
Gnan Prasarak Mandli	...	...	44	
Gogo	...	...	86, 87, 88	
Gohel, Muluk	...	...	87	
Gohilwad	...	...	87, 88	
Govardhanram	...	...	13, 35, 39, 52	
Gujarat	...	...	5, 87	
"Gujarati"	...	...	36, 80	
Gujarati Sahitya Parishad	...	...	42, 72	
Gujarat no Nath	...	...	37	
Gujarati Sahitya Parishad.Mandal Patrika	...	...	107, 109	
Gujarat Shala Patra	...	...	52	
Gujarat Vernacular Society	...	44, 67, 71, 83, 84		
Gyani, Ranchhodlal	...	...	98	

H

"Hadike-ul-Hind"	...	...	96, 113, 114	
Halar	...	...	87	

VI

H—(Contd.)

Iarsiddha Mata	...	...	...	...	103
laug	...	...	...	...	82
Iemchandra, Acharya	...	...	...	...	5
Hindi Punch"	...	...	...	...	101
Historical Inscriptions of Gujarat	...	...	...	...	84
Historical Narration of the City of Cambay	...	...	...	...	.
from Sanskrit and Persian Books and	...	...	...	...
Oral Traditions	...	...	...	...	112
History of Criticism	...	...	...	...	55
History of Jain Literature	...	...	...	...	5
Hitopdesha	...	...	...	...	34
Hodivala, Principal	...	...	...	...	77, 92, 104, 112
Hope Reading Series	...	...	...	...	12
Hridaya Vina	...	...	...	...	58

I

Idar	...	...	...	...	...
Indukumar	...	...	...	...	29
Inge, Dean	...	...	...	...	40
Ismail College	...	...	...	...	96

J

Jain Poetry	...	...	...	...	...
Jain Ramayana	...	...	...	...	73
Jain Shwetambar Conference	...	...	...	...	71
Jain Upashraya Bhandars	...	...	...	...	66
Jambusar	...	...	...	...	76
Jani, Ambalal B.	...	...	...	...	77, 97

VII

J—(Contd.)

Japan	...	...	...	...	...	46
Jasdan	...	...	...	...	...	87
Jashvijayaji, Muni Shri	...	...	...	...	...	70
Jaya and Jayant	...	...	...	...	...	29
Jhalawad	...	...	...	...	...	87, 88
Joaib	...	...	...	...	...	112
Jodhani, Manubhai	...	...	...	...	...	97
Johnson, Dr.	...	...	...	...	...	48
Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute	...	...	...	...	...	113
Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society	...	...	...	...	...	95
Juhu	...	...	...	...	...	84
Junagadh.	...	...	...	...	...	81, 86, 109, 110

K

Kachholi	...	...	...	...	...	94
Kahānad de Prabandh	...	...	...	...	...	3, 7, 103
Kahānava	...	...	...	...	...	76
Kalliandas Maharaj	...	...	...	...	...	76
Kant	...	...	...	...	...	21, 106
Kantavala, H. D.	...	...	...	...	...	55, 68, 69
Kantavala, M. H.	...	...	...	...	...	60, 69
Kantilal, Prof.	...	...	...	...	...	39
Kapadvánj	...	...	...	...	...	112
Karkaria, R. P.	...	...	...	...	...	77
Karan Ghelo	...	...	...	...	...	35
Karsandas Mulji	...	...	...	...	...	39, 54
Kashmir	...	...	...	...	...	40

VIII

K—(Contd.)

Katha Sarit-Sagar	...	...	...	34
Kathi	...	...	...	5
Kathiawad	...	...	5, 66, 82, 85,	110
Kaumudi	...	...	...	61
Kavi, Nanalal	...	...	22, 23, 24, 29, 56,	106
Keats	...	...	...	20
Khabardar	...	...	...	56, 107
Khambhatas	...	...	...	112
Khatimah	...	...	110, 113,	114
Khatmandu	...	...	...	40
Khedgadh	...	...	...	86
Khoja bin Malam	...	...	...	112
Khordeh Avesta	...	...	...	80
Kielhorn	...	...	...	82
Kooarka Kshetra	...	...	...	113
Kothari, Girdharlal Dayaldas	...	...	...	13, 35
Kotharna, Thakors of	...	...	...	4
Krishnaji	...	...	...	85
Kumari Kshetra	...	...	...	112, 113
Kumarpal	...	...	...	75
Kusum Mala	...	...	...	57

L

Latdesb	...	...	...	...	94, 95
Le Gabariou	...	...	...	...	36
Life of Columbus	...	...	...	...	39
Loliana	...	...	...	...	88
Lonkasha	...	...	...	...

M

Macaulay	...	...	...	...	48
Mahabharat	...	...	...	...	18, 26
Manshankar Pitambardas	...	...	...	...	97
Mahi	...	...	...	...	112
Mahipatram	...	...	...	...	12, 39
Majmudar, Manjulal R.	...	...	...	...	77
Malabari	...	...	...	...	14, 107
Malesar	...	...	...	...	91
Malik Shaikh bin Taj	...	...	...	...	89
Malvikagnimitra	...	...	...	...	27
Malwa	...	...	...	...	5, 73
Mānbhat	...	...	...	...	26
Mangrol	...	...	...	...	81, 86, 89
Mansukh	...	...	...	...	105
Manzoni	...	...	...	...	50
Marco Polo	...	...	...	...	39
Marfatia, Nagindas Tulsidas	...	...	...	...	13
Marwad	...	...	...	...	3, 73, 87
Medes	...	...	...	...	38
Meherban Kaikhusru	...	...	...	...	112
Mehervaid	...	...	...	...	93
Mehta, Hansa Behen	...	...	...	...	45
Mehta, Nanalal C.	...	...	...	...	44
Mehta, Narasinh	...	...	...	...	5, 18, 69, 103
Mehta, Sir' Pheroazshah	...	...	...	...	14
Mehta, V. N.	...	...	...	...	39
Merutungācharya	...	...	...	...	85
Mewad	...	...	...	...	86, 87
Mewad Kai Khusru	...	...	...	...	92, 93, 112

M—(Contd.)

Miranbai	22, 103
Mirat-e-Ahmadi	...	...	88, 109, 110, 113,	114	
Mirat-e-Sikandari	...	...	...	...	110
Mobed, Peshotan Hamjiar	...	...	...	...	78
Modak, Tarabai	...	...	...	...	45
Modasa	...	...	...	...	97
Modern Review	...	...	...	...	60
Modi, Ramlal Chunilal	...	...	...	...	97
Mody, Sir Jivanji	...	...	...	77, 89, 91,	92
Mohammad	...	...	...	...	41
Moos, A. F.	...	...	...	...	14
Morley	...	...	...	...	39
Mowlana Abdulla	...	...	...	...	112
Mukhzan-us-Shoara	...	...	...	...	108
Mulla, Abdulla	...	...	...	...	112
Mulla, Ahmad	...	...	...	...	112
Mulla, Mohammad Ali	...	...	...	...	114
Munshi, Abdul Hakim Bakshu Miyan	...	...	...	96,	113
Munshi, Chandulal	...	...	...	...	96
Munshi, Kanaiyalal M.	...	...	...	29,	96
Museum of the Royal Asiatic Society	...	...	...	...	98
Muslim Sahitya Mandal	...	...	...	...	16

N

Nadiad	97
Nagmandal	...	...	...	...	93, 94
Nagsarika	...	...	...	...	94
Nakhoda Piroj	...	...	...	...	103

N—(Contd.)

Namehs	18
Nandshankar Tuljashankar	...	...	...	...	...	35
Nanjiani	...	...	...	...	...	16
Naransar	...	...	...	...	...	113
Nariman G. K.	...	...	...	...	...	77
Narmada	...	...	...	...	...	95
Narmadashankar	8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 19, 42, 51, 69, 114					
Naval Granthavali	...	...	...	...	...	53
Navanagar	...	...	...	...	...	96
Navalram	...	12, 31, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 68				
Navsari	...	...	...	77, 91, 92, 93, 94, 107		
Nazims	...	...	...	...	...	97
New Era School	...	...	...	...	...	45
Nizami	...	...	...	...	...	19
Nrisinhacharya	...	...	...	...	...	40

O

Okha	87
Oriental Conference	...	...	...	...	...	90
Oriental Institute	...	...	...	...	...	69
Outline of Modern Knowledge	...	...	...	...	...	50

Padma Nābh	...	...	...	...	...	103
Palanji Barjorji	...	...	...	...	...	14
Palanpur	...	...	...	...	...	3
Palanpur, Nawab of	...	...	...	...	...	4

P—(Contd.)

Panchtantra	...	...	...	34
Pandya, Yeshwant S.	...	...	...	30
Pantheism	...	...	...	40
Patan	...	70, 75, 94, 97, 110	...	110
Patan Jain Bhandars	...	...	73, 75,	75
Patan ni Prabhuta	...	...	...	37
"Persian Quisseh of Rustom Manock"	...	...	...	92
Persians	...	...	...	38
Peterson, Dr.	...	...	...	76, 82
Plato	...	...	...	41
Porbandar	...	...	...	87
Prabandh Chintamani	...	...	...	85
Prabhaspatan	...	...	83, 89, 103	103
Prachin Kavya Mala	...	...	...	68
Prajabandhu	...	...	...	36
Pranlal Mathuradas	...	...	...	39
Prasthan	...	...	...	61
Premanand	...	18, 51, 69, 100, 103, 105	...	105
Present Gujarati Literature	...	...	...	107
Prince of Wales Museum	...	...	84, 86, 98	98
Punch and Judy	...	...	...	25
Punch	...	...	...	101
Punjab	...	...	...	73
Puranas	...	...	...	26
Purani's Katha	...	...	...	26
Purushottam Vishram Mavji	...	...	...	95

R

Raghunath	...	...	...	...
Rajkot	...	...	...	72,

R—(Contd.)

Rajpipla	96
Rajput	...	...	...	...	...	5
Rajputana	...	...	...	...	...	83
Ramanbhai, Sir	...	42, 55, 56, 57, 58, 64,	100			
Ramayana	...	...	...	...	18, 26	
Rameshwar	...	...	...	...	40	
Ranchhodbhai Udayaram, Diwan Bahadur				27,	85	
Ranchhoddas Girdharbhai	...	...	...	...	9	
Ranchhodlal Chhotalal, Rao Bahadur	...	...	...	...	39	
Rander	...	...	...	...	16	
Ranjitram Vavabhai	...	...	...	...	84	
Rashtrakut Kakkaraj	...	...	...	...	95	
Rās Mālā	...	...	...	82, 83,	85	
"Ratnamal"	...	...	...	...	85	
Ratanpur, Raja of	...	...	...	...	91	
Ratiram Durgaram	...	...	...	...	82	
Ratnamanirao Bhimrao	...	...	...	...	96	
Raval, Chhaganlal Vidyaram	...	...	...	...	72	
Raval, Ravishankar	...	...	...	...	44	
Rehatsek	...	...	...	...	111	
Reynolds	...	...	...	...	35	
Royal Asiatic Society	...	...	...	96, 110,	111	
Rustom Manock	...	...	...	...	92	

S

Sacred Fire of Iran Shah	92
Sagar	...	...	77
Sagar	...	...	60, 69, 70
Sagar	...	...	55

S—(Contd.)

Samal	18
Sandesara, B. J.	...	...	...	...	69
Sanghviyaya	...	...	...	...	70
Sanjana, J. E.	...	...	...	...	107, 109,
Sarasvatichandra	...	...	...	...	35, 37
Shastri, Vrajlal Kalidas	...	...	...	...	82
Scott, Sir Walter	...	...	...	...	34
Setalvad, Vimala Behen	...	...	...	...	45
Shakespeare	...	...	...	...	27
Shakuntala	...	...	...	...	27
Sharda Mandir	...	...	...	...	45
Shariat	...	...	...	...	89
Sharma, Nathuram	...	...	...	...	40
Shastri Keshavram K.	...	...	...	...	81, 97
Shatrunjaya	...	...	...	...	81
Shelley	...	...	...	...	20, 57
Sherlock Holmes	...	...	...	...	36
Shivaji	...	...	...	...	95
Shoaib	...	...	...	...	112
Shri Anand Kavya Mahodadhi	...	...	...	...	71
Shridas	...	...	...	...	110
Siava(k)sh Nameh	...	...	...	...	78, 80, 104
Siddharaj Jayasinh	...	...	...	...	111
Sind	...	...	...	...	5
Sinhasan Batrisi	...	...	...	...	69
Sirohi	...	...	...	...	96
Sodhadi Wava	...	...	...	...	87
Sorath Prant	...	...	...	...
South Africa	...	...	...	...

S—(Contd.)

Studies in Parsi History	...	∴	92, 94, 104, 112
"Sudarshana"	...	...	58
Sufism	...	...	40
Sultan Ahmed Shah	...	...	89
Surat	...	66, 72, 77, 78, 94, 96, 97, 100, 104,	
		106, 107, 109, 111, 113, 114	
Suri Rajshekhar	...	...	85

Tagore, Dr. Rabindranath	...	...	29
Takhta Sinhji, H. H. the Maharaja, Sir	...	...	86
Talaja	...	...	81
Tamba Nagari	...	...	113
"Tamrapatra"	...	...	95
Tapti	...	...	91
Tarikh-e-Sorath wa Halar	...	...	110
Taylor, Rev.	...	...	82, 98
Temple Libraries	...	...	66
Tennyson	...	...	20
Thakore, B. K.	...	...	55, 56, 59
Times of India	...	...	49, 63
Tod	...	...	83
Tolstoy	...	...	35, 46
Tripathi, Govardhanram	...	...	13, 35, 39, 52
Tripathi, Mansukhram	...	...	17, 40

U

...	...	...	...	86, 87
Uchcharitra	...	...	...	27

I

ala	86
ala	86
ansad	92
ariav	91
asant ...	61
astupal ...	75
edant ...	40
eraval ...	103
ikramajit	113
ikramorvashi	27
Virji ...	105
Vithaldas Thakarsı, Sır.	39
Vyas, Manilal Bakorbhai	72, 73

W

Wacha, Sir Dinsha	11
Waghji Asharam	32
Watson, Col. ...	82
Wood, Mrs. Henry	35, 36
Wordsworth ...	20, 57

Yeats

20

Z

Zarthosht Nameh
Zorthosht Nama

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